

JPRS 74750

11 December 1979

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1745

Extracts from Enver Hoxha's 'Reflections on China'

Volume II, Part II

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|   |  |  |   |                              |
|---|--|--|---|------------------------------|
| <b>REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE</b>  |  | 1. REPORT NO.<br>JPRS 74750  | 2.  | 3. Recipient's Accession No. |
| 4. Title and Subtitle<br>EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND<br>MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1745   |  |  | 5. Report Date<br>11 December 1979            |                              |
| 7. Author(s)  |  |  | 6.  |                              |
| 9. Performing Organization Name and Address<br>Joint Publications Research Service<br>1000 North Glebe Road<br>Arlington, Virginia 22201  |  |  | 10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.                |                              |
|   |  |  | 11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No.<br>(C)<br>(G) |                              |
| 12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address<br><br>As above  |  |  | 13. Type of Report & Period Covered           |                              |
|   |  |  | 14.   |                              |
| 15. Supplementary Notes<br>Extracts from Enver Hoxha's 'Reflections on China'<br>Volume II, Part II   |  |  |   |                              |
| 16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words)<br><br>This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware. |  |  |   |                              |
| 17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors  |  |  |   |                              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs<br><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania<br><input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria<br><input type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia<br><input type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic<br><input type="checkbox"/> Hungary<br><input type="checkbox"/> Poland<br><input type="checkbox"/> Romania<br><input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia  |  | Propaganda<br>Political Science<br>Sociology<br>Military Organizations |   |                              |
| b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms   |  |  |   |                              |
| c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15  |  |  |   |                              |
| 18. Availability Statement<br>Unlimited Availability<br>Sold by NTIS<br>Springfield, Virginia 22161   |  | 19. Security Class (This Report)<br>UNCLASSIFIED                       |   | 21. No. of Pages<br>132      |
|   |  | 20. Security Class (This Page)<br>UNCLASSIFIED                         |   | 22. Price                    |



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## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### <sup>X</sup>POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1745

### EXTRACTS FROM ENVER HOXHA'S 'REFLECTIONS ON CHINA'

#### Volume II, Part II

[Series of extracts from the second volume of "Reflections on China" by Enver Hoxha, AWP Central Committee first secretary; for previous material from this publication, see JPRS 74587, 16 November 1979, No 1737 of this series]

[8 Nov 79]

[Text] Tirana, 8 Nov (ATA)--In the second volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "Reflections on China" a broad space is held by the materials showing of the ideological, political and organizational confusion reigning in the Communist Party of China, the uninterrupted struggle between the numerous factional groupings in its leadership.

In the note of Sunday, April 15, 1973 which is entitled:

Mao Zedong Rehabilitates Deng Xiaoping

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Deng Xiaoping has emerged on the scene again with the title of the vice-premier of the State Council.

The Cultural Revolution, which began against Liu Shaoqi, Peng Chen, Deng Xiaoping and others, ended with the disclosure of the "plot hatched up by Lin Biao" and his death. As a result, the authors of the Cultural Revolution came under a cloud and became "reactive" (like the jet aircraft, only the Chinese know what was the meaning of this expression which they used), while those whom the Cultural Revolution had put under a cloud and made "reactive" came out in the sunshine and were raised like Deng Xiaoping who was made vice-premier of the State Council. Liu Shaoqi, Peng Chen, and some other leaders still remain under a cloud. For how long? Perhaps, until "they correct themselves", because this



is the "infallible method" of the Chinese comrades. Deng Xiaoping is already occupying his government position. Later he may also occupy the place he had in the leadership of the party. "The little bit of gold", as Mao called him before the revolution, "the number 2 enemy of the Communist Party of China", as he was called during the Cultural Revolution, now, after the revolution, "has corrected himself" and "recognized his mistake".

It is apparent that Chairman Mao gave the order that Deng Xiaoping should be rehabilitated, and the Political Bureau, of course, "after discussion", approved it. He personally removed and restored him, no more no less.

Of course, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, Deng Xiaoping comes back with all his battalions of supporters and all take the places they had. These supporters, who were with Liu Shaoqi, were humiliated during the Cultural Revolution, "corrected themselves" later, and "have now become lambs". Thus, under the banner of "the great Marxist-Leninist" Mao Zedong, the chaos and anarchy continues and increases. There are many trends in power in China: the trend of Mao, the trend of Zhou, of Liu, of Wang Min, of Deng, of Lin Biao, of the Kuomintang (we had better stop here because we won't have enough paper to list them all). Can these things be Marxist?

The Chinese ambassadors in different countries are singing another refrain: "It is not Deng Xiaoping who has made mistakes, but mistakes were made against him. Deng Xiaoping is a good and loyal comrade of Chairman Mao".

But why was all this hullabaloo created, and what will happen after this? I may be wrong, but this is not a simple matter. Undoubtedly, this is a Chinese puzzle like all the rest.

#### A Letter of Mao Zedong to His Wife

This is the title of the note of Friday, May 18, 1973, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

In a "self-critical" speech which Zhou Enlai delivered on the 8th of March to foreign specialists who are working in China, he said, "I shall read you some party documents in connection with the exposure of Lin Biao".

[AU081331] The "first" document, is a letter written by Mao to Chiang Ching and dated the 8th of July, 1966.

Mao writes to his wife: "After I left Hangzhou, I lived ten days in a cave and now I am in Changsha (a place of white clouds and the yellow stork). After these ten days without information, your letter was very

interesting and full of new things... The leading organ of the Central Committee hastened to send me the recent materials for approval and I shall approve them. My friend (the reference is to Lin Biao) has delivered a report about 'the coup d'etat' and has made an analysis of this problem which no one else has made up to now. Some of his ideas made me think deeply and worried me. It had never occurred to me that my books would have such a miracle-working power, therefore spontaneously I am reminded of the sayings, 'what is greatly stretched is easily broken', 'the higher you rise the heavier you fall', 'the more a mans glory increases the more difficult it is for him to be worthy of it'.

"The circumstances compelled me to fulfil the request of certain people.... This is the first time that I have agreed with others against my own desire, to act against my will. Now I have the features of both the tiger and the monkey, but mostly those of the tiger. This is the main and most important thing. I instruct you not to become conceited from this fame, to be cautious, and listen to the advice of comrades...and Chen". (The reference is to Chen Po-ta, but when the Chinese comrades were asked by the foreigners who these comrades that Chiang Ching had to listen to were, they said: We do not know them.) "Now I am the monkey who became king, because there is no tiger in the mountain. In our time when there are no heroes, I, an unimportant person, have been raised so high. I am a hero because there were no others. You must not tell anybody all these things because they coincide with the evil sayings of the rightists. To the leftists they will be like a cold shower poured on their heads, while they will assist the rightists. The main thing now is the struggle to partly overthrow the rightists. The things I say do not suit the taste of the leftists and the masses. After we purge the rightists we shall have to do another purge, indeed several of them. Once in seven or eight years there is a shake-up in the world, and during these shake-ups the evil comes to the top. Perhaps, after my death these sayings of mine will become known and the rightists will use them for their own ends, but the leftists, too, will use other sayings of mine, organize themselves and defeat the rightists, etc. The rightists will be defeated like Chiang Kai-shek".

This letter of Maos, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, is astonishing for many reasons, bearing in mind the year in which it was written and the events taking place in China from that time.

First of all, Mao writes to his wife and displays openly that he trusts her alone, when he tells her that she should not tell anyone of his thoughts. Chiang Ching is his only support. This is what emerges. He does not speak about the party at all, as if it does not exist. For Mao two currents exist: the rightists and the leftists who are fighting for power, while Mao is entirely isolated from the party, the masses and the comrades. Is this letter against his "friend" Lin Biao, who is carrying

out the Cultural Revolution? It seems to be so, because he attributes the allusions to the build-up of his personal cult to Lin Biao. However, when the rightists are defeated, Mao ensures that Lin Biao is appointed vice-chairman of the party under the constitution, at a time when he had this same Lin Biao on his list for future purges of leftists. Double dealing? No reliance on the party, on the masses. Indeed he himself says in the letter that "the masses will not understand me", but who does he think will understand him? This is not apparent anywhere. One thing is obvious, that in the future the rightists in China will rise and fall on the leftists, who will then organize themselves and purge the rightists, and so on continually, once every seven years.

Long live chaos and anarchy. Whoever is the stronger, let him take power. One time the monkey will become king, another time the tiger. A fine theory. What trust can sound cadres have in such theories? There is nothing but struggle for power by the two sides, the anti-Marxists and the Marxist-Leninists must submit to the beliefs of one or the other side.

What must be the purpose of spreading this negative letter? There is no other purpose except that it is supposed to seem positive that Mao detected from the start that Lin Biao was a leftist and had no faith in him, but used him as the lesser evil, and then liquidated him.

[AU081334] With this he tells the others, "This is what will happen to you tomorrow, nothing is secure. The question of the two lines in the party is my theory, and I am the tiger who decides whether the sun will shine or the rain will fall on these two lines". However, as we do not know the facts, we have to rely on imagination for any deductions about the Chinese affairs, therefore we must think of other versions, too.

We said above that this letter was written in July 1966, when the Cultural Revolution had begun, when the plot of the rightist group of Liu had been discovered and was being exposed, thus we must examine its content in the light of the events of that time. Mao had been involved in this struggle and there is no reason why his reference to Lin Biao's report about the "coup d'etat" should be "interpreted" as irony on his part. Hence it was clear that the aim of the Cultural Revolution led by Mao was to fight to liquidate the coup d'etat of Liu Shaoqi, and that Lin Biao was pro this fight, hence, pro Mao.

Studying the letter from the viewpoint of the time at which it was written, ... (a name replaced by a row of dots) and "Chen" emerge as friends of Mao. Zhou Enlai does not appear anywhere, hence he did not figure among Mao's "trusted followers". Then, where did this figure, who was so important after Mao and Liu Shaoqi stand?



If we pursue this interpretation of the letter then the questions arise: Why has this letter come to light now? Who does this serve? Does it serve the existing situation, or will some new situation, a new "up-heaval", occur, as Mao preaches in the letter and prepares the terrain for it?

Many events have occurred, everything has been done in the name of Mao and at the turning-points Mao found the remedy. Liu acted "under the banner of Mao", Mao came out against him, the Cultural Revolution was carried out "under the banner of Mao", Mao came out against Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai fights "under the banner of Mao", Mao approves Zhou, however, this we shall watch. At present he is silent more than he speaks, brings out a letter and a Deng Xiaoping from some hole.

#### Deng Xiaoping Is Being Greatly Publicized

In the note of Friday, May 24, 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha provides facts testifying to the confusion in the Chinese leadership. He writes in particular about the great noise being made about Deng Xiaoping. He writes:

The foreign news agencies are continually speaking about the "withdrawal" of Zhou Enlai from management of the state and say that he is being replaced by Deng Xiaoping. On these occasions they indulge in a great deal of speculation, alleging that he "was defeated because of his pro-American policy", and "because of his liberalism and opportunism in line", etc.

What is occurring in reality? As far as we know and from what the Chinese comrades have told us, the fact is that Zhou is extremely tired from the great burden of work he has carried, especially at his advanced age. Li Xiannian, Deng Xiaoping and others have told us that a decision has been taken that Zhou should rest and give up all these protocol matters. They are implementing this and in reality Deng Xiaoping is replacing him in this direction.

In a talk which he had with Behar, in connection with Zhou's tiredness Li Xiannian also let out this phrase: "When the cadres get old they also make ideological mistakes". Behar corrected him, saying: "When they get old they become weaker physically but not ideologically". Li Xiannian immediately corrected what he has said and agreed that Behar was right. What did he want to say with this? As far as we can judge at present, Zhou has not been "dropped", as the Western news agencies say. In fact he is tired, but is still running things, only with new forms and methods.

The fact is that they are greatly publicizing Deng Xiaoping and preparing a soft seat for him. Yesterday the Chinese ambassador, Liu, officially handed over to our Ministry of Foreign Affairs a big bunch of "publicity

photographs" from Beijing which show that Deng is "triumphing", that they receive and farewell him with great pomp when he is going to the UNO, show him welcoming statesmen, etc. Such a thing has not been done in this way for Zhou, or even for Mao. With whoever he meets, the Chinese ambassador here never tires of talking about Deng and boosting him. This is a directive and is not done without a purpose. We shall see these things more clearly later.

[AU081317] In the note of Sunday, May 26, 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the chaos in the Chinese leadership. Exposing the "reasons" why the Chinese again postponed the visit of the delegation of the P.L.A. and our government to China, he writes among others also about the reasons why the internal situation in China is chaotic. He stresses:

Then must we imagine internal reasons? What could they be? Suppositions: "Zhou Enlai is tired", "Zhou Enlai is ill". He has been withdrawn. But to what extent has he been withdrawn and in what directions? Is there any political problem connected with him? Will he continue to be premier or will he be replaced by Deng Xiaoping, who is being boosted? What will become of Zhou? Perhaps he will become president of the republic. In that case the National Assembly must be called together. Perhaps this may be the real reason. We shall see. Could they have told us this? That's what should have occurred. However, they have been telling us for two or three years on end that the assembly will be called together "this year, next year". But, it has not met yet. Perhaps they no longer want to tell us because this stand is not serious. Then, who knows what will emerge? It has always been like this. There are some murky waters in their leadership. Confusion can be seen among the people who welcome and farewell their friends. Frequently one sees leaders who should not be there and does not see those who should be at these welcoming and farewell ceremonies.

#### Zhou and Li Xiannian Surfaced Again

In continuation of his notes Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the turbulent situation in China. In the note of Monday, July 7, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The times of the storm passed, Zhou and Li Xiannian surfaced again and took power, while Chen Po-ta emerged as the "agent of all" and was liquidated, Lin Biao, "an agent of the Soviets and a plotter, seized the aircraft, fled, and was burned to ashes in Mongolia", and others were jailed. China went through the convulsions of reorganizing its disorganized party which met and held its congress. The National Assembly was brought together with difficulty. They say that they are preparing the congresses of the organizations of the masses.

As a result of their rehabilitation, Deng Xiaoping and, of course, many others like him, whom the Cultural Revolution attacked, are making the

law in China, fighting the Marxist-Leninist friends and defending the anti-Marxists, the waverers, the bourgeois, and those who have become their lackeys. Mao has said that a revolution will be carried out every seven or eight years in China to purge those who are in power. According to this "forecast" the time is approaching. We must wait and see what will develop.

In the note, too, of Thursday, August 29, 1975, speaking of the vicissitudes which were taking place in China in that period, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

The foreign press is talking about and making an issue of the "Hangzhou disturbances" in which "the workers have revolted over questions of pay". On the other hand, this same press is alleging that leaflets from the "people" have been sent to the foreign embassies in Beijing against Deng Xiaoping, whom they describe as "the one to blame for the suppression of the insurgents and the bloodshed".

The class struggle continues and will continue in the period of the construction of socialist society, but we have the impression that in China this struggle is not carried out consistently, is weak and not based on sound and lasting principles. When there are vacillations in line there will certainly be wavering stands towards enemies.

If you do not have a stable line, you do not have the situation in hand at key moments and things go the way they did: The Cultural Revolution was carried out against the traitor group of Liu Shaoqi, and Deng Xiaoping, Li Teh-shen and others were included in this group. After a time they emerged as "blameless" and were raised to their former positions, "were re-educated". The "magic" words, the "miracles" of Mao Zedong Thought. However, there are many who cannot swallow this quick rehabilitation and ask the question: Who was right, those who carried out the Cultural Revolution or those who were against it? Naturally, there will be clashes, perhaps with Dazibaos, perhaps with disturbances and strikes, and possibly even with arms, if the contradictions grow deeper.

[AU081347] We Are Worried About What Will Occur in China After Maos Death

Under this title, in the note of Monday, November 10, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The reports which come from our comrades in Beijing are worrying, especially about the health of Zhou Enlai, but also about Mao Zedong's serious problem of old age.

In what state is Mao leaving the party? What will happen in China after his death?



We know that the struggle against factions and factionists, against "deviators", "opportunists, liberals, and sectarian elements" has been carried out with zigzags, while the method of "education" has been used without discrimination, and after a time all these people have been "re-educated", have been "rehabilitated". Hence, what these people are doing now and what they will do when Mao dies, we do not know, of course, but we are convinced that they will not sit quiet, that they are neither re-educated nor corrected.

As far as can be seen, Deng Xiaoping is carrying out the functions of premier of the State Council. At present he speaks in the name of Zhou, because Mao is still on his feet. But after Mao, Deng may speak in his name, too. Another person "trained" by Zhou is Li Xiannian who, in our opinion, is not a sound person. Now he is taking the bit between his teeth.

In the Political Bureau there are other new comrades, too. This is true, but they are not appearing or appearing very little. The two I mentioned previously are the main ones on the scene. We cannot say precisely what course the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state will take after the death of Mao. We shall see and judge from the stands they adopt in internal and external policy. As we have always done we shall pronounce ourselves only on the basis of facts, examined through a Marxist-Leninist analysis.

#### Comrade Kang Sheng Has Died

On Tuesday, December 16, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Beijing reported the sad news of the death of Comrade Kang Sheng. I was very grieved, for I knew him well. He was here in 1966. He was at the Moscow meeting of 1969, when we opened fire on Khrushchev and the Khrushchevites. He was an outstanding and very staunch Marxist-Leninist. We were in agreement not only over major principles, but he approved our tactic and considered it correct in all its aspects. He was a comrade loyal to principles, a pupil of the school of Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern. Kang Sheng greatly admired socialist Albania, had a great and sincere love for our party, defended us in all situations and was one of our best comrades in the leadership of the Communist Party of China. We have lost a close comrade and friend, and the Communist Party of China an outstanding theoretician and a worthy leader, while the world revolution has lost a militant loyal to the cause of communism and a proletarian internationalist.

[9 Nov 79]

[AU091720] [Text] Tirana, 9 Nov (ATA)--Going deeper in his analyses, basing himself on events and facts, Comrade Enver Hoxha draws the conclusion that the "Communist" Party of China has never been a genuine Marxist-Leninist

party, that the Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational principles and norms have never been implemented in it, but it has been an arena of the struggle for power, an arena of many lines. The note of Thursday, January 1, 1976 deals with this.

#### The Communist Party of China Is Not and Cannot be a Genuine Marxist-Leninist Party

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that what characterizes the Communist Party of China is the great instability of line, of ideas, of stands and actions, hence a continuous uncertainty in line, which swings from left to right like the pendulum of a clock.

#### Mao Was in the Same Position as Liu Shaoqi and Khrushchev

The political and ideological line of Liu Shaoqi was declared to be a revisionist, liberal, opportunist line. And this is what we think: It was precisely this. Many epithets were officially applied to Liu Shaoqi, but the one applied to him in particular was that of the "Khrushchev of China". This "Khrushchev of China" had become "omnipotent", and from what was implied (because all the questions in China are left like this--to implication) we gather that "Mao Zedong had been isolated, had been pushed aside", but everything was done "in his name and under his banner". To us this means that Mao could not have been "isolated", as they claimed, because he led the party, led the party congresses. In 1957 he participated in the Moscow meeting and spoke pro Khrushchev whom he called "the Lenin of our time". On this occasion Mao also criticized Stalin, saying: "When I went to Stalin, I stood like a pupil before his teacher", and Mao did this in order to show the "despotism" of Stalin towards him. He also congratulated Khrushchev because "he had done well to strike at the anti-party elements", that is, the Molotov group. Can it be thought, then, that Mao Zedong had been isolated by Liu Shaoqi? No, it seems to me that, on the contrary, he was in the same position as Liu and Khrushchev.

Hence the political, ideological, economic and other views of the 8th congress of the Communist Party of China, at which we were present in 1956, were not only the liberal rightist and revisionist ideas of Liu Shaoqi, but also of Mao, Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai, Peng Chen, etc., in other words, of the whole leadership. At this point the question arises: Why did not Mao himself do what he congratulated Khrushchev on doing, by sweeping away all these factionalists? He did not use the broom because they had power? No, this has never been said. But what was this gang of Liu Shaoqi, "rightist" or "leftist"? This has never been stated openly. But Mao himself--was he rightist, centrist, liberal, leftist, or Marxist-Leninist? He has always posed as a Marxist-Leninist, as a disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, large photographs of whom are placed on the walls of China, but in reality Mao has not acted and does not act on the basis of their teachings against deviators from and enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

In his writings, Mao has expressed and continues to express that "the peasantry is the most revolutionary force on which the revolution must be based". Contrary to the Marxist theory, Mao puts the decisive role of the proletariat in the revolution in second, if not third place. In other words, according to Mao, it is impossible for the working class to lead the revolution, and the poor and middle peasantry to be its ally in the revolution, but the opposite must occur: the peasantry must lead the revolution and the working class be its ally.

Another expression of this anti-Marxist line of Mao's is the concept that "the countryside must encircle the city". This means that the poor peasantry must lead the revolution, that "the proletariat of the city has lost its revolutionary spirit, has become conservative and has adapted itself to capitalist oppression and exploitation". Of course, this theory is anti-Marxist and cannot lead to revolution, cannot establish and give the role that belongs to it to the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to its leadership--the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party.

[AU091725] Irrespective of its appearance and the way it advertises itself, the Communist Party of China, underlines Comrade Enver Hoxha, is not, and cannot be, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party in sound revolutionary positions. The history of this party shows not only that various ideological factions have existed in its ranks, and these have acted against one another, which is natural because the class struggle exists and is waged within the party, but also what is more important and disturbing, that these factions are permitted, continue to exist, are made official, up to the point that "let a hundred flowers blossom" is publicly proclaimed. A party which allows liberalism, kulak, revisionist, or anarchist views of any kind to flourish in its ranks, or allows rent to be paid to the urban capitalists, at a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established (sic), cannot be called a Marxist-Leninist party.

In such a party, the petty-bourgeois peasant mentality dominates, and it cannot be otherwise, when, in its activity, the Marxist-Leninist principles are not implemented, but are violated, underestimated, and used as a curtain to conceal the non-socialist reality. This opportunist revisionist line had caused the decay of the party and was leading China on to the Khrushchevite road.

Mao Zedong reacted vigorously, but not like the leader of a Marxist-Leninist party. I am referring to the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". What was this Cultural Revolution? Who led it, and against whom was it carried out? Mao Zedong and a narrow staff around him, you may say, led this revolution. Mao made more or less this call: "Attack the headquarters". But who were these headquarters? They were staffed by Liu, Deng, Zhou, Li Xiannian, and many, many others, down to the committees. Who were to attack these headquarters? The youth,



which on Mao's call, came out in the streets in a spontaneous, anarchist way.

All this activity was carried out not in the Marxist-Leninist way and not implemented in this spirit. It is characteristic that those who rose in this "revolution" were students, pupils, intellectuals. Thus, the famous "revolution" was carried out by the intellectuals outside the control of the party, which not only did not lead it but, in fact, was virtually liquidated.

#### Cultural Revolution a Chaotic and Anarchist Revolution

What did all this storm demonstrate? It is clear, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, that it did not demonstrate the Marxist spirit and principles in action, but testified to the implementation of anarchist theories of Stirner, Bakunin, and those of Proudhon, against which Marx and Lenin had fought with the greatest severity. The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was not a cultural revolution (it was aimed against that culture which Marx and Lenin advocated). It was a political revolution, not on the Marxist-Leninist course, but an anarchist revolution, without a program, against the working class and its party, because in fact, the leading role of the working class and the party itself were liquidated. But apart from the confusion and anarchist spontaneity, even the authority of the local organs of state power likewise no longer existed, while the army led by Lin Biao, who fought under the banner of Mao, with the little red book of Mao, and with billions of badges in all sizes showing Mao's face, stood as Mao's all-powerful "reserve". Lin Biao had become the main figure in the staff of the revolution, along with Chen Po-ta. However, later, these two were declared to be "plotters, traitors, and organizers of various abortive attempts on Mao Zedong's life".

Mao Zedong gave the order that the countryside must not be aroused to revolution because, allegedly, everything there was in order. As was said, "the evil was in the cities, in the party, in the working class" (sic). This looked like and was described as leftism, but in fact it is rightism, and this means that the revisionist rightists, and these were the people of Liu Shaoqi's group, had taken control of the working class and its party, while the "leftists", Mao and company, aroused the students and the intellectuals to revolution to recapture control of the party and the class. -What astounding things occur in China.- Here the rightist theory of Mao, according to which the "countryside and the youth must attack and capture the city" (sic) comes out clearly.

During this chaotic and anarchist revolution, allegedly repairs were carried out on the party, allegedly it was reformed. And how many were expelled after all this great turmoil and period of distrust and insecurity? Only three to four per cent. However, this figure does not indicate that the party had "decayed", but implies that Mao and some of his followers had no confidence in the party.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha continues: In theory, the class struggle allegedly continues, although all those who were condemned and humiliated by this "revolution" have been rehabilitated, and Deng, de facto, now occupies the top place in the leadership, since Mao and Zhou are sick. All those who had had top responsibilities, such as the ministers, marshals and generals of Chiang Kai-shek, have been pardoned and freed. It is said that they are "working conscientiously" for their homeland, socialist China.

[AU091729] All the non-Marxist theories of Maos have been called "Mao Zedong Thought". Of course, such a thing has been done in order to make a separation between Marxism-Leninism and "Mao Zedong Thought". They tried to impose this "theory" on us and on all the communists throughout the world, but we did not agree to fall into such a fatal error. To perpetuate a fraud, that is, to peddle the liberal, revisionist and anarchist views of Mao as Marxist, the Maoists produced the other formula, "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought". The fraudulent nature of this disguise is quite obvious. The revisionist-capitalist world and certain lackeys of the Chinese, that call themselves Marxist-Leninist "communist" parties, like that of France, adopted this "theory". The revisionist "Mao Zedong Thought" is now being applied without any kind of disguise in international policy.

In the Communist Party of China There Are Many Lines Which Clash With One Another To Seize Power

In the note of Thursday, January 22, 1976 Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

Analysing the facts it seems to me that the main thing which should be examined is this: Is the Communist Party of China on the correct, Marxist-Leninist road? Has it been on such a road? Is it on the organizational road of a party of the Leninist type, as Marx, Engels and Lenin teach us? (Not to mention Stalin, whom the Chinese have always been against. The Chinese speak pro Stalin because there is nothing else they can do, since at one time they took a stand in connection with this question, and for the sake of form they put Stalin in opposition to Khrushchev.)

Of course, I cannot claim to know the Communist Party of China in its development and organization. However, my opinion is that this party did not take its initial step correctly, on the Marxist-Leninist road, on the Leninist principles, whether on organization or the various problems which it had to face and solve, either in the bourgeois-democratic revolution or later, in its fusion with the Kuomintang, in the civil war, in the anti-Japanese war, on the role of the working class and on the role of the peasantry. Hence, on all these problems of primary importance I think that the party of China has proceeded in a chaotic manner.

We see that until Mao came to the leadership of the party, deviations and factions like those of Li Li-san, Wang Ming, etc., etc., appeared in its organization, ideology and practice.

I believe that when Mao came to power he established some sort of order, created and led the army and the war, but in the organization of the party and its stands, neither the Leninist basic principles nor the Leninist norms were properly established. The Communist Party of China built up its reputation, but it needed to temper itself in the long years of war and the post-war period. First of all, Maos views, from the start down to the present day, about the hegemony of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry are not in accord with the Marxist-Leninist theory. In this direction his views are liberal, regardless of the slogans, and I think that here we have the source of the vacillations in the line of the Communist Party of China and Mao. As theory and practice teach us, these are the vacillations of the petty-bourgeoisie, of the peasantry.

In China, while it is true that the Communist Party was formed, the view that "the countryside must encircle the city" predominated. It was inevitable that weak organizational links of the party would result from this, that the party norms would only be partly established and that a series of factions and anti-Marxist deviations would flourish in its ranks, as they did, irrespective of the fact that the Li Li-sans and Wang Mings were overthrown.

Thus, I think, the Communist Party of China went to war not properly organized. It did not have a clear line and could not play the true role of the vanguard. This party grew up with factions and continued with factions, both leftist and rightist.

After the war, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on, great China had to be organized as a state. But what sort of state? A state of people's democracy, but its red flag had four stars which represented the four classes of the Chinese society (?-) and another star in the middle of them. Whose hegemony did this star represent? "Of the working class", it was said, but the economic, political and organizational reforms which were carried out did not proceed in this direction, because the party itself was not monolithic, ideological unity did not exist in its ranks, but "unity" around Mao. The capitalists continued to exist as a class in this state and even to receive rent.

[AU091733] What conclusions can we draw from this brief, rather incomplete line-up of events which have occurred in the Communist Party of China?

Its own leadership says that there are two lines in the Communist Party of China. It accepts their existence and, it seems to me, makes it a condition for the existence of the party, and calls it the class struggle



in the party. However, I think that there are not just two lines in this party, but many lines which are clashing with one another for power. The party is chaotic and does not wage a class struggle on sound Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles, or, to put it better, the party does not wage the class struggle at all, but a struggle of clans goes on within it. The clans are in the party and the state, at the base and in the leadership. All the supporters of factionists, who have allegedly been condemned, can be found within the party and are operating. All this development has been and is being carried out in the name of Mao, who is being made a taboo, his quotations are learned, but each faction is going about its own business on the quiet. Mao himself permits the "two flowers", if not "a hundred flowers". "Let there be two or three factions and let them co-exist", he says, "then we shall make a revolution each seven years and shall see who will triumph. If the rightists win, the leftists will rise and overthrow them". This is "the brilliant theory of Mao". And in fact this is what has occurred. From the time Mao emerged in the leadership of the Communist Party of China, Li Li-san was overthrown, Wang Ming rose, and he was overthrown, and then Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao were raised and overthrown, only Zhou Enlai died in power. But how will things go now? Mao is still working in the same way. At present China has no premier, the functions of the head of government are carried out by Deng, who is also chief of the general staff. But we know who he is. As a political leader confronting Deng, stands Chang Chun-chiao, and in the place of the minister of defence, because there is still no minister, there is an old man who leans more towards the trend of Zhou Enlai, while heading the economy, without being at the head, stands Li Xiannian, the most faithful supporter of Zhou, of Deng, of Lin Biao, of Mao, of all of them, but never of Marxism-Leninism.

This is the state of affairs in the leadership of the Communist Party of China, not to speak of lower levels. There you have "leftists", "rightists", "moderates", whatever you want. All of them claim to follow the line of Mao, and in fact they are obliged to follow it because they are afraid of the blows they might receive during the factional struggle, but this will break out, if not right now, as soon as Mao dies.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on: They say that the leftists are dominant in the leadership, but we do not see any obvious change in the policy of the party and the state. It is said that the supporters of Lin Biao are in large numbers, and this may be true. They say, also, that Zhou Enlai did not have much support apart from that of Mao. Some say that Deng's men are taking power, while others say that Lin's men are taking power. But who to believe or to disbelieve? One has to decide everything from their policy, ideology and actions. About both one side and the other it is precisely these things that are enigmatic and unclear.

What does this show? In my opinion, this shows that the Communist Party of China does not have a correct Marxist-Leninist line, that there are currents, factions and vacillations within it, and not stability, because there is no Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action.

#### Mao Personally Signs and Seals

This is the title of the note of Wednesday, February 11, 1976. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

A new campaign of Dazibaos has begun in China against "leading people vested with power", who were condemned by the Cultural Revolution, made false self-criticism and have been rehabilitated. These formerly condemned people are again in leading positions and are precisely those who have said, "It is not important whether it is a white cat or a black cat as long as it catches mice" (the saying of Deng Xiaoping). "If these people oppose the line of Mao Zedong", they write in Dazibaos, "they will suffer the same fate as Liu Shaoqi", etc., etc. It is said that forty-five Dazibaos against Deng Xiaoping have gone up in Beijing University. He has "disappeared from the scene" since he read Zhou Enlai's funeral oration. Foreign news agencies say that the "economist" policy of Zhou Enlai's is also being attacked in the Dazibaos.

Foreign news agencies are saying openly that the leftist radical group, the Shanghai group, has taken power. But what is going on in reality, we do not know. Some years ago Mao pulled Deng out from some hole, rehabilitated him, made him vice-chairman of the party and deputy-premier, who signed and sealed in the name of Zhou Enlai, and during the time Zhou was in hospital, made him chief of the general staff, and it remained only to make him the "outstanding comrade-in-arms of the great helmsman", as he did with Lin Biao.

[AU091745] But what is going on now? Mao has brought Deng down again. Will he raise someone else only to overthrow him again, and then bring out some other Deng? There is no understanding what is being done there, except that it is clear that Mao personally signs and seals, personally promotes whom he wants, maintains and encourages two lines in the party and state, demotes one, promotes the other. Every party congress which has been held in China has had this aim, and Mao has acted to overthrow one group which was in power in order to raise another. This is a non-revolutionary, non-Marxist-Leninist, opportunist policy. It does not create trust in, but, on the contrary, discredits and sabotages the building of a truly socialist system, of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat with a Marxist-Leninist line. The Chinese line is a typically petty-bourgeois line, couched in Marxist-Leninist phrases and slogans. The facade is red and the propaganda says it is red, but the content is neither red, nor socialist, and we are obliged to say about all this that the architect of this structure is the "great helmsman".

In the note, too, of Wednesday, February 25, 1976 dealing with the events of those days in China, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

It is clear to me that Zhou Enlai, Li Xiannian and their group are being attacked through Deng. By whom are they attacked? By Mao?.- I don't believe this. Mao is an opportunist. They say that it is the "leftists, the radicals" like Wang Hung-wen, Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, and Chang Chun-chiao. It is highly possible that this is so. But to what point and for how long will they continue this campaign? Nobody knows but Mao, who up till yesterday followed Zhou, while now he says to these "leftists": "Carry out your revolution".

I can make the following deductions about the development of events in China: In the first place, Mao Zedong is not a consistent Marxist-Leninist, although he has been called a "theoretician", "philosopher", and even a "classic" of Marxism-Leninism. He leans towards the right of the leftists. In reality he is not a man of action.

#### There Is Much Confusion in China at Present

In the note of Wednesday, March 3, 1976 speaking about the great chaos prevailing in China, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

The drums are beating loudly in China against "the new Khrushchev of China", against "rightist enemies", "agents of the Kuomintang", against those "who have tried to seize power", "who have created splits in the Central Committee of the party", "who are against the road of Mao Zedong", etc. Who is this enemy? Deng Xiaoping "the little bit of gold", as Mao called him, whom the Cultural Revolution exposed as "the number two enemy of China" after Liu Shaoqi, and whom, three years ago, Mao not only rehabilitated but appointed first deputy-premier, in fact almost premier (because Zhou was dying), and also appointed him a member of the Political Bureau, vice-chairman of the party and chief of the general staff, and now? And now - patatras.- (crash.--French onomatopoeic word). The house of cards, the cult of Deng collapsed. They say Mao overthrew him. But why raise him and then bring him down? "Because he was plotting, because his self-criticism was a fraud". "The great helmsman" is very vigilant.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The drums are still beating but Deng continues to occupy the posts he had. It is true that he is under a cloud, together with Li Xiannian, but who knows - "the little bit of gold" may make another self-criticism and "the great helmsman" may pardon him again.

There is much confusion in China at present, so much so that no one knows where he stands. The Chinese tell our comrades at the embassy, "We cannot protect the Albanian students from reactionaries". Then who has the situation in hand there, the communists or reaction? "The waters



must be stirred up in order to clear them", Mao has said. Then let us wait until they clear.

[10 Nov 79]

[AU101700] [Text] Tirana, 10 Nov (ATA)--The confusion which reigns in the Chinese party and state has its roots in the so-called "Mao Zedong Thought".

#### The Cult of Mao Has Become Identical With That of Confucius

In the note dated: Vlora, Thursday, April 1, 1976 Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

The ideo-political activity of the Communist Party of China is astonishing (and this not without reason). It has remained a closed book to foreigners, especially to the fraternal communist and workers parties. I think that this has its own reasons and they are a matter of principle. "We shall wash our dirty linen amongst ourselves, and not display it to others". From the time of its founding down to this day, mistakes of line have been made in the Communist Party of China, which have left pronounced traces and resulted in the party having an unstable line, in which right opportunism is marked. But what mistakes have been made in fact and what is the nature of these mistakes? No document, no analysis of this can be found. One finds political articles with general formulae and lists of names of "the main anti-party elements". The Communist Party of China still does not have an official text of its history. There are articles about isolated episodes, written without any responsibility, which circulate today but may be withdrawn tomorrow, when other articles with different ideas come out. Only the reports of the 8th, 9th and 10th congresses of this party are known publicly. All these, or only these, are considered correct, no part of them has been withdrawn, although they include colossal mistakes. All these reports are covered with the name of Mao, because they have been produced by Mao, Lin, Deng and Zhou, therefore if the mistakes in line in them are to be cleaned up, what happens to the authority of Mao, who has been at the head of the party?

There are also the four volumes written by Mao during the time of the war. These were collected, "tidied up and embellished", as though they were based on the Marxist-Leninist theory. These materials came out several years after the liberation of China, and they say that they were edited by the Soviet philosopher, Yudin, who was ambassador in China. There are no other works by Mao. They carry on the struggle with his old eclectic quotations. What has this "great theoretician" been doing during all these years? Has he given his opinions, has he spoken, has he found solutions to a series of major problems? Almost nothing about this has been published. They simply propagate "Mao Zedong Thought" as equal to Marxism-Leninism, indeed there are lackeys of Mao's

who have placed his picture in the photographs of the classics, after Engels and before Lenin.

What results from all this? A hiding of the truth on the development and struggle of the Communist Party of China and an artificial inflation of Mao Zedong. The anti-Marxist Chinese megalomania has been unfurled, the cult of Mao has become identical with that of Confucius. Everything Mao does, everything he says is "right". Everyone must believe what Mao Zedong says. Reasoning is not permitted, only fanaticism.

[AU101703] I pointed out above that many mistakes have been made in the Communist Party of China in the line, right from the start. But on what bases was the party formed in China? Nothing is known. Mao himself has not written about this, or has written few things, but even these are not known. The four volumes of Mao that have been published deal with questions of the policy and line of the party, speak about its organization and Mao tries to paraphrase Marx and Lenin there, but he gives everything the colour of a theoretical lecture, aiming to educate the cadres or to emerge and pose as a recognized theoretician. The living struggle of the party, the factional fights, the class struggle inside and outside the party are not brought out, or are brought out very little in these works. No, allegedly it is his theory there, but in fact it amounts to a lame paraphrasing of Marx or Lenin. The ideas of Stalin are not found in these volumes. In general, Stalin and the Comintern made no mistakes either about the revolutionary struggle in China or about the alliance of the Communist Party of China with the Kuomintang, while Mao and the Communist Party of China made mistakes. They did not interpret and apply the line of the Comintern correctly. The alliance of these two forces--communist and bourgeois progressive, was necessary for the liberation of China from the colonizers and militarist Japan. It is possible that in this struggle, in these contacts, people like Blucher and other delegates of the Comintern who turned out to be Trotskyites and were condemned, made mistakes, but the line of the Comintern, intended to bring about the alliance of the progressive forces in China which were fighting Japan, was correct. Chiang Kai-shek betrayed, broke with the communists, tried to liquidate them and weakened and abandoned the fight against Japan. This is a problem which is linked with a dark and complicated period, and the blame for which cannot be laid on Stalin or the Comintern, as the Chinese comrades do. "Stalin made mistakes", claims Mao, but in fact it is Mao Zedong himself who has made mistakes, and not only at that time, but now, too, he has made many mistakes which we are seeing, together with their bitter consequences. In China they still say that Mao has never made mistakes, either yesterday or today, and neither will he make any tomorrow. For the Chinese this is a taboo, but is an anti-Marxist claim.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The Cultural Revolution broke out. This revolution was the result of the struggle between two rightist, liberal revisionist trends over who was to seize power: Mao or Liu. Mao triumphed in this encounter and accused Liu and Deng as "the enemy number one" and "the enemy number two". Mao took Zhou into his own service, because, like Mikoyan in the Soviet Union, Zhou was the servant of all. Mao emerged as the "saviour", as a "revolutionary" because he was carrying out "revolution" and his fame as a "great Marxist-Leninist" increased because he triumphed over Liu Shaoqi.

Deng, Liu and company "were conquered", but what was broken had to be stuck together, and in fact, many things were smashed. The revisionist Zhou Enlai put these things in order, allegedly under the instructions of Chairman Mao, who, at the time of the Cultural Revolution, wrote to his wife, "both the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries will use my writings". Mao himself admitted that he did not have a Marxist-Leninist line, but two, or even a score of lines, the same as the theory of "letting a hundred flowers blossom". Both of them, Mao and Zhou were revisionists. They prepared their new policy. However, there were internal opponents to their course and among the main ones was Lin Biao. Then he had to be eliminated and he was eliminated, under the accusation that he was "a plotter who wanted to assassinate Mao, but who was discovered, took the aircraft and set out for the Soviet Union via Mongolia. However, his aircraft crashed and burned on the Mongolian steppes". Hence, Lin Biao was killed as a "Soviet agent".

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes that Mao and Zhou Enlai rehabilitated Deng and made preparations for Deng to replace Zhou, and Zhou to replace Mao after his death. But the "middle" person of the "middle empire" died first. With his death the "radicals" did not accept Deng and began to expose him. This brought about that two lines, two rival groups came out in the open in China, in the party and the state, and Mao is now at the crossroads. But he is in his dotage and can no longer act. The thing of which he gave Chiang Ching a forewarning in the past, in the letter he wrote her, that both the reactionaries and the revolutionaries would use "Mao Zedong Thought", has come about.

[AU101706] Hence, struggle is going on in China, but who will win? No one knows. The "radicals" have control of the propaganda, only, the others have control of foreign policy, the economy and the army, because in fact, nothing has altered from the old course of Mao-Zhou-Deng.

"Mao Zedong Thought"

Under the above title, in the note dated: Friday, May 28, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes the anti-Marxist essence of the views of Mao, "Mao Zedong Thought". He writes:



Socialist states exist, but the communist and workers parties which lead them do not all stand in genuine Marxist-Leninist positions. There are very markedly anti-Marxist elements among them. China is in this situation. That country is guided by "Mao Zedong Thought" which is not a consistent application of Marxism-Leninism. Fundamental ideas in it are wrong, opportunist, and indeed disguised revisionist. "Mao Zedong Thought", which guides China, does not fight for the revolution, for the unity of the proletariat and, without calling China a "great state" and itself a "universal idea" which replaces Marxism-Leninism, in fact it does such a thing. To the Chinese, he who does not follow "Mao Zedong Thought" and does not identify it with Marxism-Leninism is not a Marxist-Leninist, or is not considered as such. "Mao Zedong Thought" has created great confusion in the ranks of the Chinese and world proletariat.

Within China there is anarchy, there are two or a score of lines in the party and among the people. No one knows who has power and who is going to seize it. The Communist Party of China is not constructed according to and based on the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms. The dictatorship of the proletariat does not operate there.

This unclarity in China has spread and is spreading to part of the world proletariat and Marxist-Leninist communist parties. Many of these parties are not in agreement either with "Mao Zedong Thought" or with the actions of China, but are not saying so openly. The cult of the great state, which is reputed to be "proletarian" but is not so, is operating, as is the cult of Mao, who is Mao Zedong and nothing else and, in particular, is neither Marx, Engels, Lenin, nor Stalin.

The pseudo-Marxist lackeys who have infiltrated into the ranks of some Marxist-Leninist communist parties are exalting the cult of Mao and giving him pride of place. The bourgeoisie also recognizes the value of China, of Mao and "Mao Zedong Thought", and propagates them. Every revolutionary group, every Marxist-Leninist communist party, indeed, every anarchist group like that of Sartre, etc., is labelled "Maoist" by the bourgeoisie. This is to the liking of China and Mao. China maintains links and assists them all simply because they praise Mao and follow his confused and unclear policy. Anti-Sovietism has become the sole leitmotif of the Chinese leadership, and this not on correct ideological basis, but under the banner of "Mao Zedong Thought" for the domination of the proletariat and the "communist" world.

In these conditions and with these ideas the Communist Party of China has stopped inviting Marxist-Leninist communist parties to its congresses, has adopted only bilateral meetings with any Marxist-Leninist communist party to which it propagates "Mao Zedong Thought" and which it advises to attack the Soviet Union, but not the United States of America. It preaches to these parties collaboration with the local reactionary bourgeoisie, even with Franco and Pinochet.

Mao and "Maoism" have become one of the most serious obstacles to the unity of the world proletariat and the new Marxist-Leninist communist and workers parties. Therefore, in everything we must counter this new disguised evil with our unerring Marxist-Leninist theory.

Marxism-Leninism does not recognize big parties and small parties and thus, irrespective of the fact that the Communist Party of China is a big party, our party is considered equal to it, and when the Communist Party of China makes mistakes, as it is doing, our party does not only not follow it in its mistaken ideas and on its wrong roads, but fights it, not directly at present, but indirectly, through its open and public stands by means of which all can distinguish clearly where the differences lie between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China.

[AU101709] If the Communist Party of China does not rectify its line, and goes further on its wrong course, the Party of Labour of Albania will have to engage in open polemics with it in the interest of the proletarian revolution.

Neither the Party Nor the State of the Proletariat Are Operating in China

This is the title of the note of Thursday, June 24, 1976, in which Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes "Mao Zedong Thought" as an amalgam of Marxism-Leninism, capitalism, anarchism and all the influences of imperialism and modern revisionism. He writes:

In China, the old refrain of the lengthy repetitious criticisms of Deng Xiaoping continues, as if he were the only internal enemy of the party. Despite this, however, this enemy, who is "so evil, so villainous, so cunning", is kept in the party and is not being expelled. Why? Because he is not alone, but has great influence inside and outside the party. Deng Xiaoping was the right hand-man of Zhou Enlai, who trained him to take his place and, under the banner of Mao Zedong, to lead China on the liberal opportunist road and transform it into a bureaucratic capitalist great power. Mao and Zhou were in agreement in their ideas, which they disguised with Marxist-Leninist slogans. Mao proclaimed his ideas, Zhou implemented them in the interests of both of them. The factional struggle in the Communist Party of China has its source precisely in these liberal ideas which were developed with varying intensities.

Liu Shaoqi was in agreement with Mao on the main problems, but he overstepped the bounds, managed to gain considerable power for himself and his associates, became dominant in the party, the army and the economy. They kept talking about Mao, "he was praised to the skies", but his power had been weakened and it was the others--Liu Shaoqi, Zhou, Deng and others—who held power.

Mao was left with only one course: He had to seize power again. In order to do this, he had to rely on the "romantic" youth, who "worshiped" Mao, and on Lin Biao, whom he made his deputy, that is, he had to rely on the army. This was the source of the Cultural Revolution which did nothing apart from liquidating the group of Liu Shaoqi. Mao saved Zhou Enlai, because he would need him later and because he nurtured the same views as Mao. Zhou was like a "weathercock" who turned whichever way the wind blew. At this phase Zhou Enlai assumed supremacy and together with Mao, "always with Mao", following Mao, liquidated Lin Biao.

The epoch of Zhou Enlai began, the epoch of friendship with the United States of America. And this policy is continuing.

Zhou thought that he was at the culmination of his victory: He had the aging Mao in his pocket, because he was going to die tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. He had some opponents in the leadership, but he had great strength and would bring his opponents to their knees. To this end he summoned Deng Xiaoping to his aid and trained him how to act, how to manoeuvre, and how to seize power. Zhou knew that he was going to die of cancer, however, he had three and a half years to "groom" Deng.

However, Deng was not so subtle as Zhou, power went to his head, and he brandished the sword of the "dictator". "Either you or I", Deng said. Naturally, Mao did not like this hasty action of Deng's which was ruining his opportunist policy of the coexistence of two lines. And Deng fell. However, his power remains, and Deng likewise remains in the party.

Every day the newspapers of China grind out scores of articles "exposing" Deng and the rightist deviation. But it is not made clear who is rightist and who is leftist. Both sides are in power, in the same posts which they have held, each is working independently for its own ends.

Neither the party nor the state of the proletariat are operating in that country, the rightists, the moderates, the opportunists, the friends of the United States of America are the strongest and if not today, tomorrow they will take power. They are awaiting the death of Mao. What does this mean? The two sides are hiding behind his existence, and are not coming out in the open. The aim of this is to avoid irritating the masses. When Mao dies, then the two, or the six sides will fight to seize power under the banner of Mao. This period of stagnation favours reaction.

[AU101712] In the past, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, we had the idea that Mao thought and acted as a Marxist, although we saw that some things were not done on the right road. We thought that these things were not Maos doing, or that they were tactics, but for some time now matters have been clearer to us: Mao has not stood loyal to Marxism-Leninism. If he were not the leader of great China, his true colours



would have become obvious earlier. The interests of China and the world communist movement require that we proceed on this question with caution. But matters have gone beyond the bounds of reasonable caution, and if that revolutionary section of the party which stands loyal to the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and not to "Mao Zedong Thought", does not triumph in China, China is bound to plunge openly in the revisionist mire. It will take the road of a big capitalist state. This theoretical-political tendency, this style and method of work underlie the ideas of Mao Zedong. In Mao's China, which poses as socialist, there are major mystical remnants in modernized form. A spirit and a discipline in philosophy, in work and in life has been created there which will make it hard to shift from the old Confucian concepts and from "Mao Zedong Thought"—the amalgam of Marxism-Leninism, capitalism, anarchism, and all the influences of imperialism and modern revisionism.

#### All Are Trying To Seize Power When Mao Dies

Exposing the efforts being made by various rival groups in China to seize power, in the note dated: Durrës, Saturday, July 17, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

I met Behar, who came from Beijing to take part in the proceedings of the plenum of the Central Committee which will be held the day after tomorrow on July 19. He depicts the real situation in China as very troubled, while the Chinese press presents it as "excellent". In appearance the euphoria continues, but this is a false picture.

The political, ideological and organizational struggle turns out to be just as we judged it. The clashes and preparations for bigger clashes continue feverishly. Deng Xiaoping and the rightist trend are being exposed. But on the other hand, the friends of Deng, while not changing anything from their ideas, have adopted the general slogan but are not making self-criticism and remain with their rightist views, especially on the state, on the army, and on the economy, but also on the party. They are all trying to strengthen their positions in order to seize power when Mao dies.

The rightists seem to be the stronger—they have many keys in their hands and use them, while the "leftists" have control only of the press and hide behind the reputation of Mao.

#### In China There Have Been "a Hundred Currents" and "a Hundred Schools"

The "Communist" Party of China has been an arena of many lines and many ideologies. Exposing this, Comrade Enver Hoxha in the note dated: Pogradec, Tuesday, August 17, 1976, writes:

The comrades often ask me: How many ideological currents were there in China during the Cultural Revolution and what current did Mao belong to?

I have followed the events in China continuously and attentively and for every event I have drawn my own conclusions which I have set down on paper at the proper time. This I have done because China and its Communist Party had a great mission in the world and in the international communist movement.

In China there have been "a hundred currents" and "a hundred schools". Mao Zedong himself has said this, and he launched the motto: "Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools contend". This is as clear as one and one is two. Hence, Mao Zedong not only accepted "a hundred currents and a hundred schools" in socialism, but permitted them to develop in "peaceful coexistence". It is self-evident that the theory of "a hundred flowers and a hundred schools" is revisionist. The modern revisionists, today, say: "We must go to socialism with all parties, even those of the extreme right", that is, with the fascists.

Mao Zedong puts idea into practice at the time when the Communist Party of China is in power and "leads the construction of socialism".

As is his custom, "the great helmsman" speaks from the "peak of Olympia" whatever comes into his head. At one moment, another thought struck his mind, that of eliminating "a hundred flowers and a hundred schools" as noxious weeds are rooted out. But, of course, this "elimination" no longer depended on "the head of Zeus". The "hundred flowers and the hundred schools" continued to develop but in two "gardens": in the "garden" of Liu Shaoqi and in the "garden" of those who made the Cultural Revolution. Mao watched it all as from a box in the theatre, saw how "the people in the stalls were fighting with one another, and waited to see who would prove superior".

Mao has always been a centrist, an onlooker, a Marxist-Leninist, a leau de rose (rose-watered), as the French say.

[11 Nov 79]

[AU111745] [Text] Tirana, 11 Nov (ATA)--Analysing the struggle between the factional groups in the Chinese leadership, Comrade Enver Hoxha draws conclusions which are confirmed by life.

The rightists are waiting for Mao's death, and then they will certainly act.

In the note of Monday, August 30, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The news reaching us from China is like the rumble which comes from the bottom of the sea which, although not visible, exists in fact. On the surface it seems as if daily propaganda, unrestrained propaganda, is being made against Deng Xiaoping, but as to why they are speaking against him and what is said, they keep that sealed within the party. Such a situation is not at all normal, is not revolutionary.

It seems that the opposing currents have captured the leading posts and one side has control of the microphones and the press, while the other side has the economy and the rifle. The former seems nervous, the latter calm, of course, because it has the rifle.

As can be seen, the outlook for China is not bright. I think that they will have "typhoons" there, as the Chinese say. But whom will the storm wipe out: the leftists or the rightists, the reactionaries of Zhou, Deng, Li Xiannian or the new leaders, Wang Hongwen and company?

On the surface, the new leaders look strong today, but there are undercurrents swirling in the great Chinese ocean, and as far as I can make out, the men of Zhou and Deng do have the support of Mao, though not openly, because his opportunist and liberal ideas are a colossal aid to them. They are content that no one molests them, no matter what the "megaphone" may say against them. The rightists are waiting for Mao's death, and then they will certainly act.

### The Tragedy of China

After the death of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai the process of degeneration went further on and the tragedy of the Chinese people became heavier. The note of Tuesday, October 12, 1976, which appears under the above title, speaks of this.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: A great tragedy in China. The things that we foresaw would occur in China after the death of Mao Zedong happened and, indeed, the events took place with lightning speed.

Mao Zedong spoke with revolutionary catchwords about the "revolution", the "class struggle" and other questions of principle, but in practice he was a liberal, a dreamer, a centrist in the direction of the manipulation and balancing of the various currents which existed and intrigued within the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state.

What is obvious and true is that Zhou Enlai was the greatest "Iago" in the Chinese Shakespearean drama. He was a rightist, he was a Mandarin, a bourgeois and pseudo-Marxist. In the manipulations which Mao made, Zhou Enlai manoeuvred with mastery. When the ship of one reactionary current with Zhou Enlai on board was foundering, he rapidly abandoned that ship and ducked under the banner of Mao. In practice, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, Mao formulated and defended non-Marxist theses such as that which is stressed in his obituary: "The countryside must encircle the city". His obituary stresses that "without acting in this way the revolution cannot be carried out". This means that the peasantry has to lead the proletarian revolution. This thesis is anti-Leninist.



But Mao also put forward other theses and views with which we have never been in agreement. He wrote a good deal about the class struggle, about contradictions, etc., but the class struggle in China, in practice especially, has not been waged sternly and consistently. In this direction, too, Mao proved to be a liberal and a moderate.

The Communist Party of China, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, is not clear on the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory. On the contrary, it has replaced them with the eclectic ideas of Mao. "The bourgeoisie is right here in the party and you do not see it", says Mao. And this is true. However, who permitted this bourgeoisie to exist comfortably in the party? Mao himself, with his ideas, permitted this, the lack of a correct Marxist-Leninist organizational, political, and ideological structure of the party has permitted it. Mao permitted the flourishing of many lines, of opportunism, practicism, and liberalism.

At the "crucial moments" for the Communist Party of China, Mao Zedong did not rely on the party, but on the army, the intelligentsia and the students. At these "crucial moments" the workers and peasants have either been under the control of counterrevolutionaries or have stood aside.

[AU111746] The question must be asked: Why did Mao not call on the party, the working class and the peasantry at difficult moments? Either because these forces would not obey him, or because he did not want to address himself to them for fear that blood would be shed. At the time when Mao was shouting, "power grows out of the barrel of a gun", reaction was seizing this power.

Mao died, underlines Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the great tragedy took place in China. As soon as the "helmsman" closed his eyes, the rightists headed by Hua Guofeng carried out the putsch and settled accounts with Jiang Jing, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunjiao and Yao Wenyuan. These four were arrested. Today the rightists are killing and imprisoning the leftists and revolutionaries, and rehabilitating the condemned rightists and counterrevolutionaries, while using the words of Mao.

It is absolutely unimaginable that the words of a "Marxist-Leninist revolutionary" could ever be used advantageously by the counterrevolutionaries, as is occurring in China with the sayings of Mao. The real plotters are the men of Zhou Enlai, of Li Hsien-nien, of Deng Xiaoping, of Hua Guofeng and so on.

These plotters are not publishing anything officially, but are gradually preparing the masses so that they swallow this tragic story. Chinese reaction, dressed up in disguise, is posing as "revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist", and under this disguise is mowing down the revolutionaries and communists. The Khrushchevites of China are tearing ahead

to strengthen their positions. They are trying to strengthen their positions with terror and will certainly reach the point where not only will they no longer quote Mao, but they will also trample on those things of some value which are left. With the transformation of China into a capitalist country, the figures of Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Ieng Chen, Deng Xiaoping, etc., will be built up.

#### **Mao Zedong Is the Cause of All the Negative Phenomena Which Have Occurred and Are Occurring in China**

Analysing the causes of the great chaos reigning in China, Comrade Enver Hoxha draws the conclusion that the cause of all the ideological and political turmoil in China is Mao Zedong. In the note of Wednesday, October 13, 1976, he writes: Great chaos in China.

I am not going to dwell at length on the question of the Cultural Revolution, etc., etc., because I have dwelt on it in my earlier notes, but I want to say that one thing is certain: It was Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai who hatched up the plan for the liquidation of Lin Biao, Chen Po-ta, etc. We had grave doubts from the start about this unexpected action by Lin Biao, whom Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and the whole of the Chinese propaganda presented as a traitor, as if Lin Biao wanted to plot to eliminate Mao Zedong and take his place. But with the passage of time and the development of current events, we see that the China of Mao Zedong plots are a normal practice, which means that the work of the Communist Party of China turns out to be very weak and not on the road of Marxism-Leninism. In the propaganda of this party there are plenty of words such as "revolutionary", "Marxist-Leninist", "proletariat", etc., but in fact we see that Mao Zedong, who posed as a "great Marxist-Leninist", does not emerge as such, but is the cause of all these negative phenomena which have occurred and are occurring in China.

The events in connection with Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping and now the recent coup which has occurred in China, are the result of a liberal non-Marxist, opportunist line of Mao Zedong.

In this great chaos it is difficult for us to be sure, but from what we have seen of what took place and how it took place in China, we can say that the new elements seemed more revolutionary and more progressive than the group of Zhou Enlai. Thus, Mao Zedong, in order to "reconcile" the individuals, and recognizing that he himself was very sick and close to his death, before he went "to God", as he had said to Edgar Snow, found the "appropriate solution" and he put Hua Guofeng in charge of affairs. Who was this Hua Guofeng? An unknown person without great authority. However, Mao Zedong knew him, and the right wing who had hopes in this person, accepted him, because at least he would be moderate. Thus he came to the top leadership unelected. Following the death of Zhou Enlai he became premier and first vice-chairman of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This meant that after the death of Mao, he would certainly become chairman of the party.

Not long after the completion of these devious operations, Mao Zedong died. The great chaos, what we had foreseen, burst out in China.

[AU111747] What did we foresee? We foresaw that the two obvious currents would clash with each other over who was to take power (and we thought this because the rightists, the partisans of Zhou Enlai, had power in their hands for the reasons I explained above, while their opponents had control only of the press and propaganda, therefore if the question arose as to who was to take power, it would be the non-revolutionary elements who would take it), but we thought also that the "reign" of Mao Zedong might be prolonged a little. But this Hua Guofeng who had the balance in his hands, was not Mao Zedong. Hua was far from having the authority which Mao had created in China and the world. Hua Guofeng revealed his true features. Three days ago, the foreign news agencies announced that one morning he arrested Jiang Jing, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, and Zhang Chunjiao in their homes, that is, all the main elements of the left wing whom they call "radicals". Hua Guofeng with Li Xiannian, the former right-hand man of Zhou Enlai, seized power. There are also rumours that Deng Xiaoping was brought back to Beijing and if he is not becoming deputy premier for the moment, still the road which China is taking must bring Deng Xiaoping to an important post, possibly that of general secretary of the party, a task which he carried out in the time of Liu Shaoqi and Mao Zedong and in which he has experience.

Thus, at present China is going through difficult moments.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: What will the Chinese people do now? Will they rise, or will they apathetically accept the tales of Hua Guofeng and Mao Zedong? Will they be in agreement with the purges which are being carried out in the Communist Party of China? Will Shanghai, from which all these elements have emerged, accept a situation in which Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and company dominate in Beijing, make the law in China and lead it towards the United States of America or the Soviet Union? This is a problem which we must watch.

But one thing we can say for sure: What has occurred in China is a catastrophe for that country and does incalculable harm to the world revolution and communism. American imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie are rubbing their hands. This catastrophe is a foul deed of theirs. Those who have brought about such a situation in China are their collaborators, just as Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Suslov, as well as the whole of Tito's revisionist gang and a series of counterrevolutionary lackeys of theirs throughout the world are their collaborators.



In regard to us Albanians, of course, we are clear that the situation created in China does not augur well for us, but brings difficulties. We foresaw this situation long ago, as early as 1930, when the Chinese leaders allegedly defended us against the Khrushchevites. We saw that they were vacillating, and never really defended us.

The Thief Shouts: "Catch the Thief"

Under the above title, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes in the note of Friday, October 22, 1976, about the military putsch through which Hua Guofeng came to power. He writes:

Hua Guofeng has taken the reins of the party in hand by becoming chairman of the party and chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee.

Hua Guofeng came to power by a military putsch prepared in advance. Zhou Enlai was the architect of the plot. After he eliminated Lin Biao, together with Mao and with his assistance, he not only worked "to calm" the situation, but also changed the policy of China. Mao was the banner, while Zhou, leading the reactionaries, organized everything so that this policy would be defended even by the leftists.

When Zhou died Mao was still alive. According to the rules, Deng should have become premier, but the leftists did not accept him. Then the "great helmsman" found himself in a dilemma. What should he do? He summoned Hua Guofeng, the chief of security, and other participants in the plot prepared by the rightists with Zhou at the head. But when Mao died, Hua Guofeng pressed the button for the plot and carried out the putsch. He eliminated the main leaders of the left wing in a fascist manner. Hua Guofeng and the conspirators shouted: "We've put down the conspirators, the mafia of Shanghai". They took control of the microphone, the radio and the press, and began the great campaign. This is all there is to it. The thief shouts: "Catch the thief".

The plot of Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Kellezi, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, was synchronized with the Chinese plot. Zhou made preparations for the situation to be changed in Albania simultaneously with the changes in China, in order to facilitate the implementation of their plans in connection with the communist and workers movement, with our relations and the international relations. But our party discovered and liquidated the putsch of Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Kellezi.

[AU111748] This Is What Must Have Happened With "The Four"

In continuation of his notes, Comrade Enver Hoxha brings to the fore and exposes the plot of the revisionist wing of Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng, etc.

In the note of Saturday, October 23, 1976, he writes:

Reading a report about a circular of the CC of the CP of China with a critical eye, in my opinion, it turns out that all the things the Chinese are saying are make-believe and lies.

This circular says that in October 1974, Wang Hongwen allegedly went to Mao Zedong and made "accusations" against Zhou Enlai. In my opinion, Wang Hongwen acted very well and such a thing is permissible from the aspect of the norms of the party.

It is clear to us that Wang Hongwen should not have been content with this alone. He took this step officially, too, in connection with the activities on the part of Zhou Enlai, which were not on a correct Marxist-Leninist road. The fact that he put this problem forward openly at the 10th plenum of the legislative assembly, too, as the circular which has been reported to us says, proves that neither Wang Hongwen nor his comrades who are now being persecuted there, acted in the least like "conspirators" but, on the contrary, those who have come to power acted in this way.

In our opinion, the leftist elements acted correctly, but the intervention of Wang Hongwen was not to the liking of the counterrevolutionaries, therefore they launched a counterreaction. As it turns out, Mao did not accept the proposals and accusations made by the leftist elements, moreover, according to what is said in the circular, Mao allegedly rebuked Wang Hongwen for his suggestions, and rejected them.

This shows that Mao Zedong, together with Zhou Enlai and his group, supported the rightist, revisionist and reactionary elements who remained hidden in the party and state apparatuses, or whom they rehabilitated, like Deng Xiaoping. As it turns out from the analysis of the circular, the criticisms made by Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenyuan, Jiang Jing and Zhang Chunjiao, were completely justifiable.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The question arises: What sort of plot is there in this? Have some members of the Political Bureau no right to raise an opinion [word indistinct] in the Central Committee, to make a proposal, even to criticize a person like Zhou Enlai, or any other member of the leadership? Basing ourselves on the norms of the party, we do not see any violation, on the contrary, we see non-Marxist dogmatism and authoritarianism on the part of Mao himself who criticizes these bold elements for "dogmatism". The conspirators take what Mao says about their opponents being "dogmatists" as a weapon in their own favour, but Mao Zedong, who compelled the comrades to do only what he said and as he decided, was himself a dogmatist.

I express my conviction, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, that Zhou Enlai, supported by Mao, had managed to gather around himself all the

revisionists and all the reactionaries, in one word, all the partisans of the traitor Liu Shaoqi. Gradually he infiltrated all of them in turn into the apparatuses of the party, the state, the army, and everywhere. After he achieved this aim, Zhou Enlai set to work to purge his opponents one after the other, therefore first of all he concocted the question of Lin Biao who was his main opponent. He liquidated Lin Biao with the trap he set. After this he set to work to liquidate his other opponents, whom the Cultural Revolution had brought to the fore, headed by Kang Sheng and others. However, Kang Sheng took ill and died, while Chen Po-ta was liquidated before Lin Biao.

Now there remained these four, Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenyuan, Jiang Jing and Zhang Chunjiao, whom it was difficult for Zhou Enlai to eliminate. But as the great organizer and revisionist conspirator he was, and having the support of Mao, Zhou Enlai managed to rehabilitate and bring back into the leadership Deng Xiaoping, whom he worked hard to prepare as his successor. "The four" would have immediately (?decreed) the rehabilitation of the revisionist Deng Xiaoping, but his elevation must have been imposed by Mao. I am convinced that these four could not have accepted the return of Deng Xiaoping to the leadership of the party and state. Mao must have told them to do what Zhou Enlai and his associates proposed.

[AU111749] I think that Zhou must have advised his collaborators not to act as long as Mao was alive. However, after the death of Zhou, these four acted and thus, thanks to their resistance, Deng was not appointed in place of Zhou as premier of the State Council. Hence the need arose for the Cultural Revolution to be carried further. However, Mao being in opposition to these four, summoned Hua Guofeng, whom he made vice-chairman of the party and placed him at the head of the government. Mao was well aware that Hua Guofeng was a partisan of Zhou Enlai. Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunjiao, Jiang Jing and Yao Wenyuan were also well aware of this, therefore they must have opposed Hua Guofeng's coming into the leadership, but Mao imposed on them his coming in as vice-chairman of the party and premier of the State Council.

After Mao's death "the four" must have again opposed Hua Guofeng's coming to the head of the party and the state, but this opposition was considered "conspiracy" by the revisionists. They arrested these four, describing them as people "who had fought against the party, who had opposed Mao Zedong and the decision he took personally about bringing Hua Guofeng to the leadership" without either the Central Committee or the Political Bureau being called together, etc., etc. I think that this is what the reality must have been, because there is no other way to understand the events which occurred.

## Struggle for Power

Under this title, in the note of Sunday, November 28, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: There is no doubt that after the death of Mao the situation in China remained chaotic and the party, equipped with an eclectic theory, is split. As soon as Mao died, Hua Guofeng and the army arrested the leaders of the leftists and, without calling together either the Political Bureau or the Central Committee, he assumed his titles.

But for the right and the men of Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng was temporary, just until a putsch could be carried out and "the four" exposed, then he would have to yield his place to someone stronger, a personality of the rightists who had had the approval of both Mao and Zhou. This was Deng Xiaoping.

Hua Guofeng took his first steps, claiming that "Mao had appointed him". His place and titles became sweet to him. Hua thought that he had strengthened his positions with his banal "exposure" of "the four" and his slandering of them, but certainly this is not so. The right wants Deng. Hua also wants Deng, but is certainly demanding that he makes some sort of self-criticism before he is rehabilitated and then he will give him a post, but not that of chairman of the party. However, Deng and his supporters do not accept any such thing, therefore they have blocked the moves of Hua Guofeng. He remains at the head illegally, and cannot even call together the Central Committee because in it there are leftists, centrists, rightists, and people of other colours. Then Deng exerts pressure on Hua, and Hua on Deng. Hua continues "to criticize" (ah. - very gently) some rightist errors of Deng's, until he can make him do what he wants. But Deng is "stubborn", he wants the whole of the powers, and will accept nothing less. This is the basis of the conflict.

In other words, the struggle for power in China is far from being over, but has only just begun. The army will play the decisive role in this, and it depends on this role whether Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping or some other strong rightist like Deng, will have power in his hands.

In all this the Communist Party of China is not playing any role, or plays only a formal role to the extent of approving at its formal meetings what the putschists decide from above. It seems that the Communist Party of China is only a name and a facade.

[12 Nov 79]

[AU121700] [Text] Tirana, 12 Nov (ATA)--In his notes, Comrade Enver Hoxha, analyzing the events and facts, argues that the Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational principles and norms have never been applied in the "Communist" Party of China. In the note of Thursday, December 2, 1976, entitled:



## A Party in Disarray

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: We can describe the question of the Communist Party of China as something mysterious. In appearance it seems like a legal party, and so it is. It is a party in power, has its policy, press and organization. It was said that everything was guided by Marxism-Leninism, and now "Mao Zedong Thought" has been added to this slogan. Despite all this, however, the Communist Party of China is a party which lives and acts as in illegality. Its congresses have been held rarely, the meetings of the Central Committee and those of the Political Bureau have also been held rarely and in the greatest secrecy. It is hard, very hard, to learn whether some plenum has been held, who spoke, what problems were raised, and what decisions were taken. There is never a whisper about anything, apart from some general instructions, and no one knows who has formulated even these.

Our impression is that the Communist Party of China lives by slogans and acts on orders. Outside, even the people of the Chinese leadership with the exception of Zhou Enlai, speak to us and the others in quotations and slogans even about the most varied and complicated situations. It seems as if "silence" has been made the watchword, "give nothing away but try to get what you can". This may be true, and there is something behind all this, that is, either an unhealthy secrecy is being maintained even towards comrades and friends, or the education by the party is so stereotyped that nobody knows anything apart from the formulas which are served up through the press and the radio. Both these things are true.

An incontestable fact is, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, that the Communist Party of China, with this "great" chairman and with these "outstanding" leaders, still to this day has not a written, officially approved history of the party.

What is more, the history of the great liberation war of China has not been written either, and is still not being written.

The Communist Party of China has never had a Marxist-Leninist axis. Various people, who were not educated either with the Marxist-Leninist theory or by the events, came to the top and carried out an "independent" policy adapted to the circumstances as "communists" in a "Communist Party" which did not have a Marxist-Leninist axis.

Such people came into the leadership, became careerists, struggled to monopolize power, and came into conflict with other groups which were not principled, either. The rivalries and clashes between factions were called struggles and, according to the Chinese slogans, Mao Zedong has waged ten or eleven such struggles. These ten struggles are listed with the names of the factions, and that is all. It is said simply, that they "were opposed to the line of Mao Zedong", that "Mao Zedong liquidated them", etc. But Mao Zedong did not liquidate the factionists,

either physically or ideologically, because until the end he advocated "a hundred schools". In regard to some group which he liquidated, we can come to the conclusion that Mao did this because his personal power was in danger.

Hence, the party in China was an organ of certain individuals who fought to protect their own power and not a party of the proletariat, while the power which they protected was their personal power and not that of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

How was this party organized, how did it work, and how was it educated? This, too, was and still is a mystery to us. Never at any time were we told anything, no experience of theirs was given us, no true party delegation was accepted to go to China. With us the opposite occurred. Without reservation, we explained to the Chinese how our party, as an organization, carried out its political and ideological tasks. They never did such a thing. The work in the Communist Party of China must have been very weak. In appearance, in numbers, it is a big party, but within it is in disarray, because its leadership and line have been in disarray.

#### Unstabilized Leadership

Under this title, in the note of Monday, December 6, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The new Chinese leadership is floundering in indescribable political, ideological and organizational chaos. There is no sign of any stability, even on the wrong course on which Hua Guofeng has set out. All of them pose as and assert that they are followers of the line of Mao, but this is not true. The non-Marxist-Leninist line of Mao seemed as if it was stable, but it was not and could not have been so. Why could it not be stable? Because Mao did not apply the Marxist-Leninist theory in policy, in ideology, or in the organization of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this resulted from the fact that Mao had not built and educated the Communist Party of China as a Marxist-Leninist party.

As a theoretician, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, Mao was not a Marxist.

Mao, who is advertised as a "great Marxist-Leninist" is nothing but an eclectic, a pragmatist, and as such, an opportunist. To move towards the theory of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend", is precisely the essence of the most opportunist pragmatism which leads to pluralism of parties, to undermining the leading role of the Communist Party of China in the revolution and the construction of socialism, hence to the restoration of capitalism. The quotations of Mao, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, will be on the order of the day because they are thoughts of an opportunist, pseudo-communist, pragmatic leader, a dreamer, an idealist. The views of Mao were given the name of "Mao Zedong Thought", and it was not to no purpose that the Chinese

propaganda created the formula "Marxism-Leninism equates Mao Zedong Thought". This is an anti-Marxist formula both in theory and in practice because "Mao Zedong Thought" is not Marxism-Leninism, but on the contrary, is its opposite on many fundamental theoretical questions and in its practical application.

Why was this done? This was done to fight Marxism-Leninism as a revolutionary theory and practice, to keep it as a lifeless formula, as the modern revisionists do. In its place the Chinese brought out "Mao Zedong Thought", which is a non-revolutionary theory and practice. This action is anti-Marxist, counterrevolutionary, and revisionist. This clearly shows the hegemonic nature, in policy and ideology, of a big state and of a party big in numbers but not Marxist-Leninist.

The right will retain "Mao Zedong Thought" in order to propagate anti-communism in the world and will keep Mao embalmed in a mausoleum. Thus the Chinese right put Mao in a mausoleum to elevate him to the same rank as the great Lenin. Hence, according to the Chinese, there are now "two Lenins", "two communisms", and "two socialist states". Duality of two lines both in the party and in the world. Thus the communists of the world must choose either Marxism-Leninism or "Mao Zedong Thought". The Soviet revisionists say, "We are Leninists". The Chinese revisionists say, "We are Maoists", but none of them can come within miles of Marx and Lenin, they are their enemies, are renegades from communism. Marx and Lenin belong to the genuine communists, belong to the revolutionaries of the world.

[AU121701] This chaos in China will continue. But will the revolutionaries remain silent, will they bend the knee to this gang of criminals? Time will tell. At the moment, in this state of chaos, in the minds of the Chinese, in the ranks of the ordinary communists, there is fear, insecurity, political, ideological, economic, and organizational confusion.

#### Some Thoughts About the Ballist "Decalogue" of Mao Zedong

In the note of Tuesday, December 28, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the speech of Mao Zedong "On the Ten Major Relationships" and exposes the anti-Marxist essence of Mao's views. The note reads:

This week, the Chinese revisionists headed by the Hua Guofeng group, which seized power in China through a military putsch, published a document of Mao Zedong's, a speech of ten points ("On the Ten Major Relationships") which he delivered at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in April 1956.

This document was written before the 8th congress of the Communist Party of China, at which Liu Shaoqi delivered the main report. The report had a revisionist content. We who were present at the congress were

astonished over how this report could be delivered and at least how it was not condemned even later, together with Liu Shaoqi, who was liquidated. In this report to the 8th congress, the problems were dealt with according to the ideas of Mao Zedong, and that is why even after the Cultural Revolution it was considered correct. The ten points of Mao's Eccllist "Decalogue", which form his non-Marxist eclectic strategy and world outlook, confirm this.

These ten points of Mao's were written and put forward after the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where the revisionist renegade Khrushchev attacked Marxism-Leninism and slandered and threw mud at Stalin. In this document Mao took the initiative, which might have been co-ordinated with the Khrushchevites, as it was in fact. Khrushchev had informed Mao of his revisionist ideas and about the actions he was to undertake. Mao was in agreement with Khrushchev, a thing which he stated publicly at the Moscow meeting of 1957, where he praised Khrushchev, attacked Stalin, and approved Khrushchev's liquidation of the "anti-party group of Molotov and company". And in this way Mao assisted Khrushchev. He was in agreement with the line of the Communist Party of China, was in tune with the Khrushchevites, because the two "chums" had the same ideas. Naturally, Khrushchev made promises to Mao, but did not keep them, and only deceived him until he could get over his difficulties.

Mao's aim was not to help Khrushchev but himself, so that China would become the main leader of the communist world and Mao would replace Stalin, whom they thought they had buried. Mao acted quickly to take hegemony.

Khrushchev for his part wanted to bring Mao Zedong into line and under his direction. Meanwhile, however, the Party of Labour of Albania intervened by defending Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of China. The fire of the polemic was kindled at Bucharest and the Party of Labour of Albania continued it "with a volley of machine-gun fire" at the meeting of 81 parties in Moscow. Mao was for putting out this great fire, was opposed to the polemic. He wanted meetings, wanted social-democratic agreements because he himself was a social-democrat, an opportunist, a revisionist. But Mao could not extinguish the fire or the polemic, and seeing that he was unable to establish his hegemony, he changed his stand. Mao took a somewhat "better" anti-Soviet stand, and here he appeared to be in accord with us who were fighting Khrushchevite revisionism consistently. But even at this time he had hopes of rapprochement with the Khrushchevite revisionists. Efforts were made to this end by the Chinese leaders, but we opposed them.

When Khrushchev fell, Mao's hope revived. He sent Chou to Moscow, who proposed to us that we should go, too. But we resolutely refused this. This was a fiasco for Mao Zedong. Then, from the strategy of the fight on the two flanks he turned towards the United States of America. The



frequent meetings between the Chinese and the American ambassadors in Warsaw prepared Kissinger's visit to China, and after that Nixon's visit, too.

The Cultural Revolution fizzled out. This revolution stopped half-way, or to put it better, strengthened the personal position of Mao Zedong. The leftist elements "were liquidated with a single blow" by the rightists headed by Hua Guofeng. Thus, the revisionist line of Mao triumphed, and now this "Decalogue", which is suitable for the rightists, has come to light. In this "Decalogue" there is no mention at all of the world revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, or aid for the peoples who want freedom and are fighting to liberate themselves.

This document is a reflection of the revisionist ideas of Mao who is for peaceful coexistence even with the United States of America, although this is not mentioned at all. I have glanced over this document but it must be analysed thoroughly.

Nothing should surprise us in regard to the anti-Marxist, pragmatic, liberal, putschist stands full of zigzags of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng and other Chinese revisionists. These ideas of theirs are old, fifty years old, they are interwoven with idealism and mysticism, and given a coat of red paint which the sun of Marxism-Leninism peels off them.

One of the main aims of this "Decalogue" of Mao's is to mark a dividing line between himself and Stalin, between the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the ideology which guides the construction of socialism in China. In other words, Mao Zedong opposes the Marxist theory with his own ideas, "Mao Zedong Thought", as the Chinese now call them, claiming that they are "fundamentally the same as the theory of Marxism-Leninism", although in reality they are in opposition to it. Mao Zedong was an eclectic, a disguised revisionist who tore off his disguise when he came to agreement with the Khrushchevite revisionists to attack Stalin and to dethrone Leninism. Under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong unfurled his pseudo-Marxist theory and "from now on this theory was to lead the world proletariat and the revolution". Herein lies the source of "Mao Zedong Thought", of its fraud, megalomania and of its denigration of Marxism-Leninism.

"Mao Zedong Thought" also led the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in order to counter the Great October Socialist Revolution which, together with the theory of Marx and Lenin, in other words, had been "superseded", "outdated" for Mao. The times have changed, thus, according to him, "a new theory was needed to replace Marxism", and this was "Mao Zedong Thought". This is the theory of modern revisionism which like the Khrushchevite theory, retains its Leninist disguise. These two variants of modern revisionism are a single, inseparable

whole, but the problem is which will dominate, the revisionist variant of Khrushchev or that of Mao, irrespective that both of them end up in the same road, that of anti-Marxism. The question of which great state will manage to dominate the other, which will make the law, is based on this rivalry.

[AU121702] The first point of the "Decalogue" of Mao Zedong presents the anti-Marxist thesis of giving priority to light industry and agriculture, and not to heavy industry. Mao Zedong backs up this Kosyginite-revisionist deviation with the argument that the investments in heavy industry are large and unprofitable, while the confectionary and rubber shoe industry brings in income and is more profitable. As for agriculture, it produces the people's food.

Mao's anti-Marxist thesis does not carry forward, but restricts the development of the productive forces. From 1949 down to the present day, nearly 30 years have passed with Mao's economic policy, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, and where is China with its industrial potential? Very backward. -And allegedly "the four" are to blame for this.- No, it is not "the four" that are to blame, but Mao's line, as is proved in the presentation of his views in the "Decalogue".

But how could great socialist China get along without heavy industry? Of course, Mao thought that he would be helped by the Soviet Union in the construction of heavy industry, or he would turn to American credits. When he saw that the Soviet Union was not "obeying" him and did not give him the aid he sought, Mao began to cast steel with furnaces which were built on the footpaths of boulevards, or with mini-furnaces for iron. China remained backward, China remained without modern technology.

Mao says scornfully: "What sense is there in talking about the development of heavy industry? The workers must be guaranteed the means of livelihood". In other words, this is the "goulash theory" of Khrushchev. This view of his, which was applied in a pragmatic way and which has left China backward, has brought about that it will take decades until the year 2000 for China to overcome its backwardness to some extent... with the aid of American credits and capital which the new strategy is securing.

The question is raised in the second point of the "Decalogue" of where industry should be built, on the coast or in the interior? Mao stresses that even in the future, industry should continue to be built in the coastal regions and to this end makes a fantastic reckoning that with the income from one light industry factory, "we (the Chinese) could earn enough in four years to build three new factories or two, or one, or at least half of one". This is like the theory of the revisionist Koco Tashko, who said at the 1st conference of the party at Labinot, that "we must carry out the revolution with much bloodshed, with little bloodshed, or possibly without bloodshed at all".

In point three of the "Decalogue" Mao Zedong defines the relationship between economic construction and construction for defence, when he says that they must reduce the expenditure for defence, it is quite apparent that he is basing himself on wrong definitions. According to Mao, the Chinese defence is allegedly more powerful than that of the Soviet Union before the Second World War.

The facts show that China remained backward. This was the result of the underrating of heavy industry and reliance on others to strengthen the defence capacity with a wrong military strategy. Now China has begun to change its mind about its defence, but together with this it has also changed its alliances. It has achieved rapprochement with the Americans and has bought modern military equipment from them.

In the same point of the "Decalogue" Mao expresses clearly that he is for light armament, for paying the Chinese soldiers (as a mercenary army) and for reducing the administration, but in this direction nothing has been done. On the contrary the administration has been transformed into a malignant growth for China. We noticed this when we were in China in 1956, and they themselves told us that all Chiang Kai-shek's former officers were being kept on as paid officials.

Point four of the "Decalogue" speaks about relations between the state, the units of production, and producers. Naturally we have never learned what this organization and this organizational division of China is and neither do we know what relations are between the state, the units of production and the producers. We have been aware that there is democratic centralism there, but we could never have imagined that the provinces would not have authority in their own internal divisions and the factories would not be economically self-supporting.

At this same point Mao compares the army with the state, i.e., he calls a weapon of the state the state and puts it above the party. In fact, in the old China and in this new one, the army has played a decisive role. It has supported one faction and liquidated the other.

Mao banalizes democratic centralism and economic independence from the centre with a ridiculous and simplistic example which makes one wonder how this "great theoretician" explains such an important political, ideological and economic organizational problem of socialism in such a casual way?

When he speaks about the peasantry, and Mao is speaking in 1956, only a few years after liberation, he stresses that the system of collective farms and state farms in the Soviet Union is a failure, that the peasants there are crushed by taxes, that their products are bought at low prices, and other evils, whereas he all but says that in China the peasantry is living in plenty and content, that production is ample, that prices are low, that the state accumulation is small. An astonishing

analysis. We have personal knowledge of the situations both in the Soviet Union and in China, because we were in both countries in those years, therefore we know that what Mao says is not real. Khrushchev came out as a "theoretician of agriculture" who was going to pull it out of "the mess that Stalin had got it into". Mao, too, is imitating this kulak and double-dealer.

In point five of the "Decalogue", where he speaks about the relations between the centre and the base, Mao Zedong defines what these relations should be. Here Mao Zedong puts forward that the example of the Soviet Union should not be followed in the concentration of all matters in the hands of the central organs while repressing the initiative of local organs, but that efforts must be made so that the local organs run things independently. With this Mao implies that the federal republics in the Soviet Union had no authority. This is a bluff, a lie. To say that the republics of the Soviet Union, which are like the provinces in China, did not have their own authority, means to denigrate the socialism which was built there in the time of Stalin, means to try to show that the organization, management, ideology and policy of China are superior to those of the Soviet Union, that the Leninist practice of the economic construction of socialism in the Soviet Union is not correct, according to Mao, because Stalin allegedly distorted this Leninist practice. However, we know that Stalin faithfully implemented the economic, organizational and ideological policy of Lenin.

It is absurd to claim that there was no initiative from the local organs in the time of Stalin. Can it be that with this claim Mao Zedong wants to minimize and weaken the role of democratic centralism and justify the course of Titoite "self-administration"? We do not forget Mao Zedong's high esteem for Tito. When he claims that Stalin was wrong in the question of Tito, this means that Mao Zedong must have approved the "self-administration" methods in the Yugoslav economy, that is, the methods of the Titoite revisionist "self-administration". Mao wants to implement this "self-administration" gradually in China.

[AU121703] In point six Mao speaks about the relations between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities that live in China. Say what you like in theory about the equality between nations, but, in fact, the Han nationality rules in China. In China, democracy and equality between nationalities do not exist. As in earlier times, a military dictatorship exists there. That faction of that nationality which had the army with it imposed its will on the masses of the people and the party. Hence, the army is at the head of the party and also at the head of the state, there.

In point seven, in connection with relations between party members and non-party people, Mao Zedong is completely on the opportunist, revisionist line. He does not put the Communist Party at the head, in the leadership. He implies that it is in the leadership, but demands and



affirms that power must be shared with the bourgeois parties. Hence, Mao is for pluralism of parties in the leadership of the proletarian state. He considers the existence of these parties a determining factor, or to put it better, a factor essential for the construction of socialism in China.

With this Mao is in contradiction with Lenin who, of course, did not allow other parties, apart from the Bolshevik Party, to run the Soviet state. Hence, to accept the system of many parties in the leadership means to be guided by anti-Marxist ideological views. In this chapter, Mao tries to reduce these parties to a few people, to a few leaders "who make some criticism or approve the decisions of the Communist Party of China". This is not a matter of certain progressive democratic individuals, whom the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and our party and all the other parties, admitted to the front, whom they have kept close and have consulted when necessary, but Mao Zedong legalizes the existence of bourgeois parties in the leadership of the proletarian state. With this thesis of his he explains, allegedly, that "the democratic parties are the product of history" and that "everything that emerges in history is eliminated in history". It is clear to Marxist-Leninists that every party represents the interests of certain given classes or strata, therefore what does it mean if you preserve the parties which represent the interests of the bourgeoisie in socialism? It means to fail to wage the class struggle, to fail to fight for the hegemonic role of the proletariat and its party.

In point eight in which he speaks about the relationship between the revolution and the counter-revolution, Mao Zedong says that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to suppress the counter-revolution and the counterrevolutionaries, but unfortunately he pampers the counterrevolutionaries. "At first we killed some counterrevolutionaries", he admits, "but we should not kill any more, should not imprison them, should not put them on trial, but should convince them, send them to the countryside where they will be reformed through labour" etc., etc. "We can keep the law on capital punishment in force", says Mao, "but should not apply it in practice". What is this? This is not class struggle. Such a stand does not wipe out the counter-revolution, does not eliminate the exploiting classes.

Many things must have been cut out from the theses of Mao's "Decalogue", because some months after the 8th congress of the Communist Party of China, it was stated explicitly that the owners of factories should receive rent and be vice-directors of their factories, and this view is apparent throughout this thesis of Mao Zedong. He keeps the capitalist reactionaries in the management of factories which have been their property, gives them income from these factories which have been nationalized, but which are considered partly theirs, and forgets that these factories have been built and extended by exploiting the blood and sweat of workers. Can this be called class struggle? No,

this is not class struggle at all. According to Mao Zedong, these former owners must be integrated into society, become part of society, be educated in society. That means they must be integrated into socialism. Many bourgeois revisionist "theoreticians" as well as the Titoites and the "Eurocommunists", etc., are now talking a lot about the integration of capitalism into socialism, etc. ("This will be a very good thing", claims Mao, "for many reasons, one of which is that we (the Chinese) will provide a good example for other countries in the world in this way [making a fine] example of how the enemies of the peoples are not combated.")

Another view of Mao's is that if we eliminate the capitalists, according to him, we shall also lose a source of information and thus will not know what is going on in their ranks. What "brilliant" conclusions in order to extinguish the class struggle. This was the sort of "class struggle" Zhou Enlai tried to persuade us to carry out when he accused us of not waging the class struggle. His aim was to see how far we were going in this struggle, whether we were on the line of Mao Zedong of extinguishing the class struggle, or on the Leninist and Stalinist road of waging this struggle sternly.

In the Communist Party of China Mao has cultivated his own cult and has not applied the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the class struggle, iron proletarian discipline, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Party of China has been built up and imbued with liberal, reformist norms and two or more lines. Hence for Mao and the Communist Party of China the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism are fictitious.

Mao claims he wants to eliminate violence, capital punishment, the law courts and the procuratorial organs, to avoid punishing counterrevolutionaries. He advocates only education and propaganda. Where is the class struggle on Mao's part in all this? Where does the dictatorship of the proletariat exist in his views and practice?

In point nine Mao speaks of the relations between right and wrong. What is his aim in speaking about these relations? In doing this Mao tries to attack Stalin. He says that "Stalin shot people for the most trifling mistake". This is a slander. Stalin did not shoot people for making mistakes. On the contrary, he struggled to correct those who made mistakes and there are documents which show this is true. Stalin directed that evildoers should be put in prison or concentration camps, and that counterrevolutionaries, traitors, spies, and the other enemies of the people should be shot for especially dangerous crimes. If he had not done this, socialism could not have been built in the Soviet Union, and Stalin would not have been on the Leninist road. Mao Zedong is opposed to this line. He generalizes the issue and treats both those who have committed not very dangerous crimes, who certainly should not be shot, and counterrevolutionaries, in the same way. Who says that we should shoot those who have not committed grave crimes? Nobody. On the

contrary, we are for correcting such people, and this is what we have done.

Then the tenth and final point of the "Decalogue" treats relations between China and other countries. These relations, as he explains them and raises them to theses, are opportunist, revisionist relations.

[AU121704] Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Mao Zedong accuses Stalin of left adventurism, of having exerted great pressure on China and the Communist Party of China. Stalin must have had no faith in the leadership of the Communist Party of China. When China was liberated, Stalin expressed his doubt that the Chinese leadership might follow the Titoite course. Glancing over all the main principles of Mao Zedong's revisionist line, in regard to all those things which he raises against Stalin, we can say without reservation that Stalin was truly a great Marxist-Leninist who foresaw correctly where China was going, who long ago realized what the views of Mao Zedong were, and saw that, in many directions, they were Titoite revisionist views, both on international policy and on internal policy, on the class struggle, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, etc.

By printing this "Decalogue", Hua Guofeng and company want to legalize their revisionist line, to legalize their counter-revolutionary activity, to legalize the stopping of the Cultural Revolution, because they think that this will make things easier for them, although, as I have written earlier, the Cultural Revolution in China was not on a revolutionary basis, but on an opportunist basis. It was a struggle of one opportunist group, headed by Mao Zedong, against another opportunist group, headed by Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Chen, etc., which had usurped power. The counterrevolutionaries who had been brought into the state and the party by Mao Zedong and his followers, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, suppressed the revolution in China.

[13 Nov 79]

[AU131831] [Text] Tirana, 13 Nov (ATA)--In the note of Friday, December 31, 1976 Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes the unstable and anti-Marxist strategy of the Chinese leadership and the failures it has suffered. The note is entitled:

#### The Chinese Strategy Is Suffering Fiasco

Absolutely nothing, no anti-Marxist action of the Chinese should surprise us. We judge the actions and the ideas of the Communist Party of China, its Central Committee and Mao Zedong in the Marxist-Leninist light which illuminates our party. But nothing of theirs turns out to be on the course of our theory, because the Communist Party of China is not guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory. Analysing Mao's mistaken views about the

class struggle and the state power, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out among others that in China the state power did not develop into and never became de facto and de jure, a dictatorship of the proletariat, while in words and propaganda it was, and it is claimed that it is a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The state power in China could not have been and is not a dictatorship of the proletariat, because one of the functions of such a state is to suppress the exploiters, the counterrevolutionaries, the class enemies and the enemies of socialism, a function which has not been carried out in China. Contrary to the theses of Marx and Lenin, Mao did not fight against the restoration of capitalism in China, accepted this restoration and even prepared it with his anti-Marxist theories.

But why did this occur? This occurred because Mao, not being a Marxist, did not work for, nor did he build or temper a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. The Communist Party of China is not a party of the working class because it does not lead the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a dictatorship does not exist in China. In that country, the state is a progressive bourgeois-democratic state, and as Mao admits, this state "is led by a coalition of parties with differing political and ideological views".

Hence, on these key problems of the Marxist-Leninist theory, such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, as well as the class struggle, Mao Zedong is on the opportunist, revisionist road, is a social-democrat. This critic of Stalin is for the integration of the bourgeoisie and the kulaks into socialism, he is a new Bukharin concealed with Marxist catchwords. On the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao Zedong, a new pupil of Bernstein and Kautsky, formulates allegedly Marxist slogans. On the question of the leadership of the country by many parties, he is a bourgeois social-democrat and operates like all the others while disguising his rightist views with leftist slogans.

Over a period of fifty years, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, Mao Zedong and his associates built up a strategy and tactics not for the triumph of the revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, but for the triumph of China as a great world power.

Now, as in the past, in China they have acted according to petty-bourgeois views. The Chinese line has continuous zigzags, the strategy of the party has been unstable, its policy has ebbed and flowed, and not as Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics presents these questions.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on: The Chinese Cultural Revolution was a factional fight between the group of Mao and that of Liu Shaoqi. Neither the working class nor its ally, the peasantry, and especially their leadership, the Communist Party of China, took part in it, they



did not understand their role, were not set in motion by either faction. The army, which was with Lin Biao and Mao, played the decisive role in this revolution.

The so-called Communist Party of China was not a party of the revolution, because it had not been educated for such a purpose. It was more of a "peasant party", which according to tradition, waited to see who would win by means of military force.

[AU131832] Mao's faction triumphed, but he stopped the "revolution" half-way, stopped the revolutionary violence, because the dictatorship of the proletariat did not exist. Mao together with Zhou Enlai worked intensively to restore the situation and strengthen the positions of their clan in their own course. They pushed Kang Sheng aside, liquidated Lin Biao and Zhen Boda, and at the same time prepared to get rid of the remaining "thorns" in their flesh—"the four", as they call them.

With the deaths of Zhou Enlai and Mao, the clan lost its main leaders. The country and the clan were left without a head and have fallen into great chaos. Those who remain are guided by the ghost of the dead, by an anti-Marxist ideology, inside and outside the country. The reactionary strategy of Mao and Zhou has suffered and is suffering fiasco. In their time, those two manoeuvred, Mao with his undeserved "prestige" of the "patriarch", and Zhou with his cunning on the stage and behind the scenes.

The new revisionists who came to the head of the party and the state in China are continuing to wallow in the social-democratic mire into which they are sinking deeper and deeper. They think that their Marxist disguise will not be torn from them, but they are tearing it off themselves. They think that the "prestige" of Mao and Zhou will get them out of the mire, that the potential of China, in terms of its territory and its population, will impose itself on the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and the progressive peoples. But they will be unmasked, will go bankrupt, will carry the anti-Marxist line of Mao and Zhou through to the end, and will lead China at an even more reckless pace, on the course of a bourgeois-capitalist state. The road of Mao, Zhou, Deng, Hua Guofeng is the road of capitalism, the road of reaction and social-imperialism.

The myths and cults of Mao and Zhou must be smashed to their foundations, because only in this way will China escape from the capitalist grip. The Chinese traitors who have seized power want to consolidate the situation, the Chinese Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries must fight arms in hand, must not fear revolution. This is the only road to salvation for China.

## "Heavenly" Arguments

This is the title of the note of Saturday, February 12, 1977 in which Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: We lived to hear even this. In order to unmask "the four", the Chinese newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, writes amongst other things that "even the gods are angry with the treachery of the 'gang of four'".

Apparently, "Mao has gone and been received in an audience by the gods" (as he said to Edgar Snow) to whom he complained about his wife Chiang Ching and her comrades. Not even the most conservative reactionary bourgeoisie uses such asinine things to expose its enemies.

The current Chinese leaders are not only anti-Marxists, but they have lost any measure of common sense. It seems, they are in great trouble because nobody believes their "material" arguments against "the four", so now they have begun to use "heavenly" arguments.

## The Coming to Power of Hua Guofeng and the Rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping Is a Scandalous Business

In the note of Thursday, July 28, 1977 Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes the military putsch which brought Hua Guofeng to power. He also condemns the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping. He writes: Examining the coming to power of Hua Guofeng and the complete rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping to all his former functions, we see a scandalous business in regard to the application of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles on the organization of the party. It is quite clear that Hua Guofeng came to power through a military putsch, at the head of which were he and Yeh Chien-yi. They arrested the four persons they call rightist radicals and seized power. The clique which carried out the putsch considered Hua Guofeng premier of the State Council and chairman of the party, because allegedly Mao Zedong appointed him before he died. However, such a thing must be confirmed by the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. This was not done, and the constitution of the Communist Party of China, and every norm of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party were violated. No meeting of the Political Bureau was held, and neither did the Central Committee of the party elect Hua Guofeng. He called himself chairman of the Communist Party of China, smashed "the four" at one blow, appointed himself premier, etc., etc. Hence the way in which Hua Guofeng came to power has all the features of a military putsch, just as in the countries of Latin America.

[AU131833] In regard to Deng Xiaoping, he is an inveterate anti-Marxist who has been the main supporter of Liu Shaoqi. The latter was accused by Mao Zedong of being a revisionist and "the Khrushchev number one of China", while Deng Xiaoping was described as "the Khrushchev number two" and together with Peng Chen and many others of their followers were

eliminated in the same way. Only after this were the meetings held for the exposure of these persons. In fact, Deng Xiaoping was a revisionist and was brought back to power not in the correct Marxist-Leninist way but through the will of Mao Zedong personally. Thus, Mao Zedong had condemned him, then rehabilitated him, and rehabilitated him well, appointing him the first deputy to the premier, Zhou Enlai, vice-chairman of the Communist Party of China, and at the same time chief of the General Staff of the Army. This was an anti-Marxist decision approved only by the clique of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. Zhou Enlai rehabilitated his old comrades with whom he had been in agreement, though he did not suffer at that time like Liu and Deng, because Mao Zedong felt that he was completely isolated and protected Zhou. He admitted this himself and issued the call for the Cultural Revolution.

Hence, Deng Xiaoping was condemned because the Cultural Revolution, inspired by Mao Zedong, condemned him. Later, Mao Zedong rehabilitated Deng Xiaoping with the aim of taking the rightist course towards the United States of America, towards an alliance with American imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism. Later still, he again denounced this element, discharging him from the major functions with which he had entrusted him and threw him out in the street, leaving him only the party card in his pocket. Mao exposed Deng for the second time, and allegedly left the instruction that Hua Guofeng should come to power, thus violating every party norm. Thus for a period of ten to twelve months Deng Xiaoping went into obscurity again, only to return after the coup d'etat which Hua Guofeng and Yeh Chien-yi carried out. Deng Xiaoping and company who have now come to power want Mao Zedong to be left in obscurity and mentioned no longer. And this time will come. There will no longer be the myth of Mao Zedong against the current, but the current of the Yangtze will take it and carry it to the ocean. With the line that Deng Xiaoping will now implement, this will occur.

On the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of China

On Sunday, August 21, 1977 Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the 11th congress of the Communist Party of China. He writes among others:

Yesterday HSINHUA announced that the proceedings of the 11th congress of the Communist Party of China had come to an end. The delegates were appointed, were passed through a "beautiful" "democratic" sorting-out process and the discussions went off, as the French say, tambour battant (with haste (French in the original)). Two reports were delivered there: the political report which Hua Guofeng read, and the report on the new constitution which Ye Jianyi delivered, while the congress was closed by Deng Xiaoping, who was described by Mao Zedong as "the Khrushchev number two" of China. In Hua Guofeng's report to this congress the Great Cultural Revolution is brought to a full stop. He says openly that the Cultural Revolution is over. Deng Xiaoping who was a revisionist and a close friend of Liu Shaoqi and

Peng Chen, has now returned to power and put an end to this revolution. However, for the sake of demagoguery, Hua Guofeng declared that the class struggle continues. Of course, it continues, because China is not calm, because there are Marxist-Leninists in China and they cannot be deceived by such demagoguery. That is why Hua Guofeng demanded, not just once but three or four times, as far as I read in this communique, that internal order and discipline must be re-established everywhere.

[AU131834] Naturally, Hua Guofeng also spoke about the economic development of China. He said that great importance would be placed on the technical-scientific revolution, education, culture, and above all, the strengthening of the defence. In order to achieve this aim, he pointed out that the instructions of Chairman Mao presented at the 10th congress by "the honoured premier" Zhou Enlai, would be implemented so that at the beginning of the 21st century China would become "a great socialist power". This is what Hua Guofeng says in his political report.

Meanwhile Ye Jianyi, the representative of the army, which brought to power the clique of Hua Guofeng, of Deng Xiaoping, himself and Zhou Enlai, praised Hua Guofeng. Indeed he said explicitly that "now China is advancing towards brilliant victories under the banner of Mao Zedong. Hua Guofeng is the man who will lead us until the beginning of the 21st century", etc. Thus, this Hua Guofeng is to be the main leader of the Communist Party of China until the beginning of the 21st century. Of course, these Chinese leaders, like Mao, Ye Jianyi or Hua Guofeng live to a great age, like the cardinals of the Vatican who die about ninety because they have nothing much to worry them and take things easy. Mao's "theory" advocates that each seven years there will be a revolution and a counter-revolution, but in his speech Ye Jianyi swept away this "theory" and declared to the congress that there would be no more revolutions. Hence, Hua Guofeng is to remain at the head.

However, the development of events in China does not depend either on this desire of Ye Jianyi or anyone else. On the contrary, putsches will take place in China one after the other, and this Mao Zedong has not foreseen badly. The issue depends on the fact that whoever is more powerful will carry out the putsch and seize power.

But the main thing about the congress, underlines Comrade Enver Hoxha, was its closing session in the form of a deification. The histories we have read about ancient Rome and Byzantium say that the emperor Constantine, while going to war against Maxentius, saw in the sky a cross on which these words were written: "In hoc signo vinces" ("Under this sign you will triumph") and he emblazoned this sign on his banner, or as the historians call it, labarum. At this congress, Hua Guofeng had arranged his hair like that of Mao Zedong, he had allowed that thick black hair of his, as straight as a porcupine's quills, to grow, had cut it and combed it cunningly and given his head the form of Mao Zedong's with his forehead uncovered like Mao's. Hence, for this, too, we could



say: "In hoc signo vinces". With his haircut Hua Guofeng assumed the appearance of Mao Zedong, and with this sign "he will triumph".

#### The Armymen Are Leading China

This is the title of the note of August 22, 1977. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Last evening HSINHUA published the communique saying that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has met and elected Hua Guofeng chairman of the party, with Ye Jianyi, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and another (whose name I don't remember, but I know that he was commander of Mao's guard) as vice-chairmen. According to the communique, the Political Bureau has been elected. The overwhelming majority of the Political Bureau, of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, and of the Central Committee of the party are army-men. Hence, the army-men are now leading China. They have also put the "famous" Geng Biao, who runs the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee and leads the ideological struggle against our party, on the Political Bureau.

[14 Nov 79]

[AU141414] [Text] Tirana, 14 Nov (ATA)--In the note of Wednesday, September 7, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha argues through convincing facts that Mao Zedong is not a Marxist, but a dictator who exercised his personal power and who did not rely on the party. The note is entitled:

#### What Is the General Office in China?

In this note Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The XINHUA agency transmitted the article entitled, "Forever Bear Chairman Mao's Teachings in Mind and Persevere in Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", which the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO will publish on the 8th of September. This article was written by the "theoretical study" group at the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in order to commemorate the 1st anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao Zedong.

I stress that this is an article of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This is the first time we have heard that such an office exists in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, although with quite different functions from those which these general offices have in the apparatuses of the communist and workers parties constructed according to the Leninist type and the Marxist-Leninist theory. The General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, is comprised of a personnel, the number of which is not known because it is not stated, and it is simply explained that in the personnel of this General Office there are commanders and fighters of Unit 8341 of the People's Liberation Army.

What is this Unit 8341? We cannot define this at all because no explanation is given, but as the Chinese themselves have said, this is the detachment of the security guards which protected Mao Zedong, and when they talk of the detachment of Mao's bodyguards it is implied that this must have been a large unit with all the means. The personnel of this General Office was under the sole direction of Chairman Mao. On the basis of the following analyses of this article it turns out that Mao Zedong exercised sole leadership through this personnel of the General Office. That this office was omnipotent over the Political Bureau, over the Secretariat, over the Central Committee, and over the vice-chairmen of the Central Committee. It turns out also that this office is virtually identical with the National Security Council which is created above the government and above his party by the American president, who takes measures, acts, and imposes his policy, discussed and approved in the National Security Council alone, on ministers or other organs. Hence, Mao made the policy through the personnel of his General Office of the Central Committee of the party.

On what do we base this conclusion? Precisely on what is said in this article, that, being an important sector of the Central Committee of the party, "the General Office had the duty to guard Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the party and to handle top secrets of the party and other important tasks. It was a matter of practical importance to the fundamental interests of the whole party, the whole army and the whole people throughout the country, whether leadership of the General Office was kept in the hands of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and whether the security of Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the party and the party's top secrets was fully ensured". Hence, the competences of this office are very clear in the article. In a few words, if this General Office existed, then the whole country, the whole party and the whole state were run by it, and it received orders and directives from Mao.

According to this article, the Liu Shaoqi group, the Lin Biao group and the group of "the four", all tried to put this General Office of the Central Committee of the party under their leadership. It emerges from this article that Liu Shaoqi tried to introduce his men, i.e., the bourgeois headquarters, into this office, and engaged in anti-party plots; that the Liu Shaoqi group had seized control of the General Office, because it is now clear that Mao Zedong no longer had his former power in this office; that Liu Shaoqi had taken over the whole leadership, while Chairman Mao was left biting his fingers. Hence it is clear why he aroused the Red Guards.

[U141420] At the time we thought that Mao Zedong was making a mistake that he did not rely on the party and did not settle this question by means of the party, while now it is very clear: He aroused the Red Guards because the party had slipped from his grasp. Everything there was in the hands of the General Office, which Liu Shaoqi had firmly in

his grip. Hence, Mao Zedong was obliged to arouse the non-party elements in revolution. This explains why he set up the "Red Guard" and gave the order to "attack the headquarters". The call, "attack the headquarters", is now readily explained, and means, first of all, that the General Office must be captured, because this office ran the whole country, while everything else--the party, the trade unions were only a facade and served this office. Therefore, the Cultural Revolution was to recapture the leadership of the General Office, which Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, etc., had seized from Mao.

The functions which this office has are astounding. The article says: "Chairman Mao also instructed us that we should conduct the movement in a way that befitted the nature and characteristics of the work of the General Office and refrain from establishing contacts with society at large, so as to ensure the normal functioning of the office in all the work serving the Central Committee of the party". Is this not a very clear explanation which makes further explanation unnecessary in regard to the great and astounding competences of the General Office? Neither Lin Biao, nor Zhou Enlai, nor the other members of the bureau, of anybody else, had the right to meddle in the affairs of the General Office. Headed by Mao, this office was all-powerful to act, to run all China, all sectors of life in China. The members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee did not have the right to propose cadres suitable for this office. If somebody proposed and managed to have more suitable people in this office, he was considered a conspirator and, according to them, the conspiracy naturally went from quantitative to qualitative, as occurred in the end with the group of "the four", who allegedly wanted to seize power by force.

According to the article, "In order to achieve their sinister goal", "the four", like Liu Shaoqi, "worked painstakingly to seize power of leadership in the General Office of the Central Committee". From this it emerges that with the coups d'etat, whether of Liu Shaoqi or Mao, of Lin Biao or the so-called group of four, or that of Hua Guofeng, all have striven to seize control of this General Office, and putsch after putsch was organized. Mao Zedong, like a dictator, did not allow any of his collaborators, members of the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, or the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, to give directives to the Central Committee, the party, military units, the administration, etc. Any action of theirs carried out without Mao's knowledge was considered sinister. After Hua Guofeng came to power he took over the General Office, too.

It is clear what great power and authority this office and this special unit had. Hence, Chairman Hua decided to undertake immediate action against "the four" and thus Unit 8341, under the leadership of Chairman Hua and under the direct command of him and the vice-chairman, Ye, resolutely carried out the alleged order of the Central Committee and arrested the "gang of four". Arguing how Mao did not rely on the party,

Comrade Enver Hoxha after mentioning examples in regard to this question, writes: Now we understand the meaning of Mao's words to our comrades in 1966: "How can you rely on the secretaries of the party who sell themselves out for a kilo of pork?" This is precisely what Mao Zedong said to the comrades of our delegation, Mehmet and Hysni, and this shows the contempt Mao Zedong had for the party, or his opinion that it did not exist at all. He based himself only on his personal guards and on the selected people of this office, who were nothing but lickspittles who ingratiated themselves with Mao Zedong.

The article contains other stupid things, too. However, these stupid things are raised to theory as though Mao Zedong produced great jewels of wisdom. Here are some of them: "If you each (i.e., the guards) write a letter every two months, or four or five letters every year, to ask whether the peasants have enough food to eat, and about production and the cooperatives, and show (?me) the replies from (?them), I shall be well-informed". "Through various channels and methods", the article continues, "our great leader, Chairman Mao, made constant efforts to learn the latest developments in society, to investigate and draw on the experience of the masses, to learn their views and aspirations as the basis for policy making so as to guide the movements of the masses forward victoriously in the correct direction". So much for the "genius" of Mao Zedong who based himself on these bureaucrats and the elements of this unit to formulate in his own "brilliant" mind the party policy and the general line which was necessary to lead the movement of the masses forward. This won't do at all. This is anti-Marxist, to say the least of it.

[AU141424] The article proves that Mao Zedong did not rely on the party in anything.

The article referred to is very long, 41 pages, and these pages contain an endless series of histories and tales about how this all-powerful office under Mao's direction waged a stern struggle in defence of the allegedly revolutionary line of Mao Zedong and "saved" the Communist Party of China and China itself from catastrophe.

In other words, this whole method of work of the Chinese is anti-Marxist in content and form and is not based on the party at all, and that is why we have never been able to understand how the party functioned in China. They did not make such a thing known to us, did not agree to send a party delegation, which would receive or give experience. What experience could they give? They knew that their party did not function like our party. Their party did not have those competences which our party has.

Now it is obvious who dominated and ran things in the Chinese party. In our party, however, the leadership has been and is collective. Its forums, from the congress down to the basic organization, have their rights, duties and competences defined.



As it turns out then, a struggle for personal power has been waged in China. The power of Mao had become unassailable, Mao had been turned into a god, and it is easily understood why his cult was developed and built up so high. Mao Zedong ran things on his own, surrounded with a group of people made up of those who flattered him and carried out his ideas. Those who did not carry out Mao Zedong Thought he called "conspirators", "revisionists", called them whatever he liked and eliminated them. This does not mean that there were no revisionists and conspirators among those who were eliminated, but the method of work and leadership, a method which, of course, is anti-party, anti-Leninist, gives rise to doubts about the validity of all the actions which were carried out by a person surrounded by (?a personnel), gathered in a General Office and a security unit. This is anti-Marxist, personal leadership.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on: After Mao's death, Hua Guofeng seized power. As we know, he came to power in an anti-Marxist way and was the person whom Mao appointed as his successor. This person had the support of Ye Jianying, chief of Mao's guard, the vice-chairman of the Central Committee of the party, who ran the General Office, that is, Mao's main personnel, and thus "at one blow" he routed "the four", who after the death of Zhou Enlai and Mao, had thought the time had come for them to take power. However, the group of Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying was better prepared and liquidated "the four".

Judging the question in the light this article throws on it, it is clear that the group of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, who have come to power, and are making all this deafening propaganda, as if "the four" had wrought havoc and damaged all the vital sectors and activities of China, in fact, are aiming all their criticism at Mao Zedong and his one-man personal leadership, regardless of the fact that Hua Guofeng's leadership is a personal leadership and has nothing at all to do with party leadership. Everything which is said as a party, a Central Committee, a congress, etc., is a facade, or a line decided by a small group which is supported by a junta and which ensures that these views and this policy are approved by some allegedly elected and appointed party or state organs. When Hua Guofeng and company say, "We shall be guided by the banner of Mao Zedong", we must understand that they mean this leadership, i.e., their personal leadership. Thus, that Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping must be considered just as all-powerful as Mao in the leadership of the party and the People's Republic of China.

[AU141431] At present, Hua Guofeng is chairman of the party and premier, but the "famous" General Office of the Central Committee, with Unit 8341, is not as fully in the hands of Hua Guofeng as it was in the hands of Mao Zedong. Indeed, at some moments, it was swinging and was not in the hands of Mao, either, but passed from one set of hands to another. In this office and in this unit now there are men of Hua Guofeng, of Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying, that is, in this office and

in this unit there are different factions which are struggling and will continue to struggle for superiority. This will be a continuous struggle, and nobody knows who will win. This depends not only on the ability of one or the other, of Hua Guofeng or Deng Xiaoping, or someone else to regroup mainly the security forces and the forces of the army, but depends also on the internal circumstances, the division, the "balance" of forces, on the sympathizers of the one or the other. The time will come when Deng Xiaoping will consolidate his position and will either leave Hua Guofeng as a figurehead, as chairman of the so-called Communist Party of China, or will hatch up some sort of attempt at a plot against him, which will blow him into obscurity. This is how things will go in the People's Republic of China in the future, and Mao Zedong determined this fate for it with his anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, anarchist ideas, with his ideas of a leader who exercised personal power, who preached modesty but who was not modest; who preached the line of the masses, but did not apply this line in practice; who preached Marxism-Leninism, but did not apply it; who preached struggle against the great state and the big people tendencies, but whose views and actions were that China, under his leadership, should dominate the world. The theory of "three worlds" leads precisely to great state chauvinism.

"The great wide-ranging world policy" of Mao, as the article of the "outstanding" theoretical group of the General Office describes it, was "a sun and an ever-lasting monument". In fact, it shows Mao's megalomania, his anti-Marxist ideas, his personal organization of the alleged Communist Party of China and the alleged socialist Chinese state.

Now, with the advent of Hua Guofeng to power, the whole structure of the party and state will continue as before, because these people, both Deng Xiaoping and Hua Guofeng, are of the school of Mao Zedong, although they were against him. They took control of the famous General Office of the Central Committee, i.e., they have the army and the security force in their hands, and now they will make the law, will run things as they were run before, but cunningly exposing Mao Zedong. In fact, the article written by this office reveals that all the putrefaction which has existed and will continue to exist in the leading head has been the work of Mao Zedong. Deng Xiaoping wants to bring this out, but on the other hand he wants to create some other forms of personal leadership together with Hua Guofeng, or by eliminating him, so that this new Chinese empire will be better adapted to the modern forms of management of a capitalist country.

Hua Guofeng or Deng Xiaoping and their administration in which party, state and army are confounded, will be such that for a long time they will always disguise themselves with Marxist terms and will pretend that their country is a socialist country. They are required to do this in the interests of deceiving the people internally and world opinion, and when I speak of world opinion, one should have in mind not the capitalist states and the capitalist leadership, but mainly the world proletariat.

The China of Hua Guofeng is using such trickery and frauds on the pseudo-Marxist-Leninist parties which have been reduced to a deplorable state, like that of Australia, headed by Hill, which has been turned into a counterespionage agency of the Australian Government.

Hence, the present regime in China will continue in the future, too, to disguise itself under the cloak of Marxism until the revolution breaks out there. We shall fight to tear this mask from them.

#### Grafted Revisionism

In the note of Friday, October 14, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha once more exposes "Mao Zedong Thought". In this note he writes:

Last evening I read the leading article of RENMIN RIBAO—about "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend", the old theory of Mao Zedong, dating back to the time of the domination of the clique of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Chen, etc., against whom the "Great Cultural Revolution" and what is more, "proletarian revolution" was carried out.

[AU141456] Mao Zedong launched this idea of "genius", as you might say, which was in conformity with his opportunist views because such an idea meant that all the bourgeois, capitalist, Marxist, pseudo-Marxist, revisionist, Trotskyite, and anarchist views in every field should be allowed to develop freely, and there should be discussion about this. This line stemmed from his opportunist views, because, as is apparent from his own writing, he did not guide "socialism" in China on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory, but on the basis of a "theory" which he developed by grafting and which they call "Mao Zedong Thought". It is not the Communist Party of China, alone, which leads this "socialism" in China, and Mao admits this from his own mouth. Other parties of the bourgeoisie, which are united in a common front with the Communist Party of China, also lead it.

Now let us come to the "hundred flowers and the hundred schools". This means that all the Confucian and bourgeois-capitalist philosophical currents should flourish and this pragmatic, capitalist, idealist ideology, this "Mao Zedong Thought", is covered with the Marxist-Leninist cloak. "This new development of Chinese progressive thinking is the continuation and precise implementation of the ideas of Mao Zedong", says the article. And so it is in fact: the development of the non-Marxist ideas of Mao Zedong.

This is necessary to the revisionist outfit which has come to power there to prepare the terrain for big capitalist investments from multinational companies and for the creation of big concerns in China, which will enter into cooperation with the big American concerns and those of other economically developed capitalist countries, that is countries of

the "Second World". This world and the big concerns which exist in it want to invest in China, because they have colossal interests there. The Chinese market is endless, the wealth of China is great. To this end, these countries require that the state power in China should have stability, that the revolution must be avoided there, and to achieve this not only must the counterrevolutionaries be in power, but the organization, structure and superstructure of the Chinese state must be capitalist, that is the development of its economic, political and ideological relations with the big imperialist powers must proceed in harmony. Therefore, the "theory" of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend", which is a typically revisionist theory, is suitable to them.

#### **This Situation in China Is Chaotic, Not in the Least Stabilized**

After Hua Guofeng came to power, the process of degeneration in China went still deeper and the Chinese panorama became gloomier. The note of Thursday, December 8, 1977 deals with this. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

More than a year has gone by since the clique of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping came to power and it is displaying much zeal to consolidate the bourgeois-capitalist state power and revisionist ideology throughout China. The many facts show that the situation there is chaotic, not in the least stabilized.

From the time of Hua Guofeng's advent to power, apart from the vicissitudes of the vacillation of his group over the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, from the time of the attack on the so-called gang of four, one sees that disturbances are continuing, indeed they say even armed clashes.

Apart from arrests, imprisonment and executions, during this period the putschists have also undertaken campaigns for the liquidation of the Cultural Revolution. This means the discrediting of Mao Zedong, naturally in an indirect way, but still discrediting, when, as is known, it has been widely propagated that Mao Zedong personally inspired and led it (and this was true). Now the Hua Guofeng clique is saying that the Cultural Revolution has ended.

With the public declaration which Hua Guofeng made at the Central Committee, he implied that the Cultural Revolution was a mistake and now it no longer exists. Following Deng Xiaoping, all those condemned by the Cultural Revolution, from Peng Chen to Peng Teh-huai, are being rehabilitated, and certainly Liu Shaoqi will be rehabilitated, too.

All the reactionaries affected by the Cultural Revolution have been returned to their former positions and have the key posts under their control. Not only are they all reactionaries, revisionists, Trotskyites



and capitalists, but they are also old. Thus, the leadership of China, both of the party and the state, is again in the hands of reaction, the old reaction with no drive, but with evil hearts and a spirit of vengeance, which is now attacking the younger generation and throwing them out in the street.

[AU141514] This whole situation, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, has enfeebled and weakened China economically, has weakened its state organization, and caused great damage to the people's economy. This is seen everywhere in China where there is marked discontent and a shortage of supplies.

As we told, suspicion reigns among the people, who dare not speak even to one another because they are denounced to the organs of police and the army and immediate measures are taken against them. The country is so big that nobody knows where these people are taken. Are they shot, hanged, or put into concentration camps? Their relatives know nothing. Such then, is the situation, a situation of terror, a very grave situation for the Chinese people, who do not deserve this evil fate which Mao Zedong and his successors reserved for them.

The Chinese people fought for the liberation of their country, for their independence and socialism, but they ~~were~~ deceived by their leadership, with Mao Zedong at the head, and were not led on the genuine road to socialism, to the consolidation of the party on the Marxist-Leninist norms and ideology. The new Chinese state was not steered on to the road of socialism, but continued the road of capitalist development, of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the kulaks. All of them, with Mao Zedong at the head, with Liu Shaoqi, etc., were nothing other than such NEP-men who took the NEP and applied it as a policy for a lasting period, continuing for a very long time, which allegedly would lead to socialism. But their real aim was to incorporate socialism into capitalism. They were nothing other than Bukharinites.

**The Savage Dictatorship of the Fascist Bourgeoisie Will Be Established in China**

In the note of Sunday, December 18, 1977 Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping have declared officially that the Cultural Revolution in China is over. That is, they took power and decided that there would be no more proletarian or proletarian cultural revolution there. Hence in present-day China, where they still use the slogan "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend", in fact, none of these flowers will blossom, but the savage fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie will be established. Of course, through all the organs of the press and propaganda, Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping say that "discipline must be established everywhere". This means that any resistance to this fascist dictatorship must be put down with bloodshed.

[15 Nov 79]

[AU151701] [Text] Tirana, 15 Nov (ATA)--In the note of Monday, December 26, 1977 proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and relying on facts, Comrade Enver Hoxha puts forward and analyses a series of questions which have to do with the character of the Chinese revolution. The note is entitled:

Can the Chinese Revolution Be Called a Proletarian Revolution?

In this note Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

I am of the opinion that a proletarian revolution, such as the Great October Socialist Revolution was considered to be and was, was not carried out in China. Here I am not raising the issue that the stages of the bourgeois revolution ought to have been skipped over, allowing the transition directly to the socialist revolution.

The Source of the Vacillations to the Left and to the Right by the Communist Party of China

In China, Sun Yat-sen, through his struggle in the leadership of the Kuomintang, going through many wars and battles, although he did not complete his work, managed to overthrow the monarchy and establish the republic, to form the democratic government in Canton, but without managing to unify China. This Chinese republic was a "bourgeois-democratic" republic, still not fully formed with all the features and characteristics of an advanced bourgeois democracy, although it was moving in that direction.

The proclamation of the republic and the coming to power of the Kuomintang did not mean that the big Chinese bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the compradore bourgeoisie were eliminated. In no way. This bourgeoisie remained in power and continued to maintain, protect and develop its links with the imperialist states, especially with American imperialism, and to create friction and splits which reached the point of armed clashes between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang. Indeed, the father-in-law of Sun Yat-sen, who was also the father-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek and a member of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, was one of the biggest compradore bourgeois of China. And there were many others like him.

In this period, when the Kuomintang was all-powerful and Sun Yat-sen was at the head of it, when the Chinese republic was developing and in friendship with the Soviet Union of Lenin, the Communist Party of China was created in 1921.

The newly formed Communist Party of China should have followed the course of strengthening itself ideologically and organizationally,

should have worked to build up its identity and, step by step, create its alliances with the revolutionary classes and forces, should have fought for the strengthening of the positions of the bourgeois democracy which was being built in this first stage.

Lenin and the Comintern, the October Revolution and the experience of the Soviet Union had opened this road to the Communist Party of China.

For this new party to have carried on a systematic, organized, studied and mature struggle in those very complicated situations, on such a large continent, on which the ideas of Confucius and the feudal order had left deep, not to say, indelible impressions, it was necessary that the Chinese communists should have had absolute faith in scientific Marxism, in Lenin and the Comintern, should have reported to them realistically about the situations in China, with the aim that the decisions which were taken by the Comintern about China should be correct and applied correctly by the Chinese communists.

In my opinion, despite the good will of neophytes, these things were not achieved by the Communist Party of China, therefore I think that this is where all the vacillations to the left or to the right, from that time down to this day, have their source.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on:

Not only in its stand towards the Kuomintang, but also in its stand towards the working class and the peasantry, the Communist Party of China has not known how to determine a clear Marxist-Leninist line. In the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China, the peasantry played a decisive role, but this does not mean to say that the Communist Party of China should have called it the leading force of the revolution. In the new conditions, this revolution should have been led by the working class.

[AU151702] At the time when the Communist Party of China was formed, a proletariat relatively small in comparison with the class of the Chinese peasantry existed in China. Nevertheless, the proletariat did exist and the Communist Party of China, already formed, should have been the party of the proletariat, while the peasantry should have been considered by this party its main ally. It has never been clear on this main idea, this basic revolutionary guiding principle, even in theory, and consequently, it was not applied properly and consistently in practice, either.

After the break between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang in 1927, a new stage, which is known as the 2nd revolutionary civil war, began for the Chinese revolution.

The revolutionary movement was beginning to build up. In December 1929, the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) arrived at the conclusion that China had entered a profound national crisis and was at the initial moment of a revolutionary upsurge. However, it stressed that the transition from the national crisis to the directly revolutionary situation would not take place immediately. At the same time the Comintern drew the attention of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that "the revolution in China was developing in an uneven way". In these conditions, the strengthening of the party and its struggle to make the masses conscious and win them over remained the main task.

It seems to me that the conclusions of the Comintern were not understood properly by the Chinese leadership at that time.

The Chinese communists with Mao Zedong lay the blame for their defeats and deviations, for their failure to understand and draw correct deductions from the situations which were developing in China, on the Comintern or its representatives in China, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha. They make many accusations that the Comintern hindered them and confused them in the waging of a consistent struggle for the seizure of state power and the construction of socialism in China.

I am of the opinion that in general, the decisions and directives of the Comintern, first of all of the time of Lenin, were correct, and that those of the time of Stalin were correct, too.

After September 1931, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, the national liberation war against the Japanese occupiers began. This national liberation war, also, was waged with its ups and downs, not only military but also ideological and political. During this war, alliances were formed between the progressive bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and the compradore bourgeoisie, between the Kuomintang, the proletariat and the peasantry, and between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

In all this complicated situation, again we do not see clearly the line and direction of the Communist Party of China.

During the anti-Japanese war Mao Zedong had managed to liquidate the factions of Li Lisan, Wang Ming and many others and had established his hegemony. Besides Mao, Ju Te, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Lin Biao, and many other leaders of the Chinese revolution who had emerged from the anti-Japanese war, came into the leadership of the party. But these, too, were in opposition to Mao and one another, time after time. Hence, the war led by Mao Zedong in China was a national liberation war against the Japanese occupiers, and against the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek, who was in de facto alliance with the Japanese and in de jure and open alliance with the American imperialists.



After the historic Long March, after assembling at Yen-an, reorganizing the army and then the assault, which ended with driving Chiang Kai-shek and the remnants of his army into the sea, on the 1st of October, 1949 China was liberated and proclaimed a People's Republic.

Throughout Its Whole History the Communist Party of China Has Contained a Large Number of Factions

For the period following the liberation of China, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, the question arises and this is a great and important question which cannot be analysed and solved with these few facts and documents or without special study on our part: Is People's China building socialism on the Marxist-Leninist road, or is it a bourgeois-democratic republic and remaining as such? Was the revolution which was carried out in China, and did it remain, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, which marked the first stage of the revolution, or did it succeed in going beyond this stage, to the second stage of the revolution, to socialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat? This is a major question which must be cleared up with facts.

[AU151703] Mao Zedong called the period of liberation "the new democracy", the tasks and orientations of which were defined. The theoretical foundations of this doctrine were laid by Mao Zedong in a document "The New Democracy", which came out in 1940.

The new democratic republic, according to Mao Zedong would be made up of "four" anti-imperialist and anti-feudal "classes" which are the proletariat, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. In this republic, the economy, also, had to be new democratic, the state would take over management of it, but would not confiscate the assets of the bourgeoisie, because the backwardness of the Chinese economy justified the existence of some capitalist forms. Of course, the land would be divided up, according to this new economy, but the economy of the rich peasants would exist, because the above formula is applicable to the rich peasants also, since their production is very necessary. Naturally, the new culture has to be the ideological reflection of this new policy and new economy and serve this policy and economy.

This policy sounds liberal and nationalist, because even after the creation of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong still remained loyal to his doctrine.

In my opinion, and as far as I can judge, China carried out a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type through the national liberation armed struggle.

Regardless of the fact that both before and after the liberation Mao Zedong said (and documents about this exist) that in the construction

of the People's Republic of China "we shall be much inspired by American democracy", in its old propaganda and in many of its initial acts and because the Communist Party of China came to power, it looked as if China was a country which was preparing to go over to socialism. This was the general picture.

After the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, the Communist Party of China had to proceed with great caution, and this was natural. It had to avoid being leftist and skipping the stages, and we can say that the stages were not skipped. This is a fact which cannot be denied. The question arose, also, that the Communist Party fought not to have shown itself to be "democratic", that is, liberal and opportunist, as it proved to be, towards the Chinese bourgeoisie and the big landowners. The fact is that both the Liu-Teng faction and the Mao faction supported these classes, making serious, liberal, opportunist concessions to them.

The Communist Party of China should have consolidated the alliance of the working class with the peasantry first of all, and the Chinese bourgeoisie should have been subjected to the laws of the proletariat. This was absolutely essential.

In these first moments after liberation, for four or five years on end, we see that China is struggling, wallowing in ever-changing reforms. We do not see any sort of guiding line there about where these measures or reforms should lead, do not see an objective, well-studied build-up, step by step, in all directions of social, economic, political, ideological and military activity. On the contrary, we see many vacillations to all sides, a confusion of reforms of the people's democratic period with allegedly socialist trends, strikes the eye. During this period, the tendency according to which the first stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution had to be protracted was kept strong. In this stage, preached the Chinese leaders, along with the development of capitalism the premises for socialism would be created. Mao Zedong himself said: "Although such a democratic revolution of the new type, on the one hand widens the road for capitalism, on the other hand it creates the premises for socialism". On this preaching they based their well-known thesis about coexistence with the bourgeoisie and capitalism for a very long time, which was to continue for a full thirty years after 1956. The report of the 8th congress of the Communist Party of China says openly that the national bourgeoisie, together with the working class, should retain the state management in China and retain a large part of its private wealth. The Chinese presented these ideas as a creative application of Lenin's teachings on the NEP. But there is a radical difference between Lenin's teachings and the Chinese theory and practice, both in content and in the period of the implementation of the NEP.

[AU151704] One year after the proclamation of the NEP, Lenin pointed out that the retreat had come to an end and launched the slogan of preparation for the offensive on private capital in the economy. In China, however, the period of the retention of the bourgeoisie and capitalism was envisaged to go on almost forever.

In a word, at this stage the view existed in the Communist Party of China that the order established after the liberation should be a bourgeois-democratic order and the bourgeoisie, too, should have power, while in appearance the Communist Party of China should be in power (and it was in power) with Mao Zedong as chairman and with Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and all the others in the leadership. These were the views of this party. They were not clear Marxist-Leninist views. Since the views of the Communist Party of China were not completely Marxist-Leninist views, the revolution in China could not be carried through to the end, and the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution could not be assured. The transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution can be achieved only when the proletariat resolutely removes the bourgeoisie from power, even in those cases when the bourgeoisie has been its ally for a time. So long as the working class in China shared power with the bourgeoisie, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, this power, in essence, was never transformed into a dictatorship of the proletariat, and consequently the Chinese revolution could not be a socialist revolution. During the whole of this period, from the time it was founded until it achieved the liberation of the country and later, the Communist Party of China was unable to consolidate itself ideologically, to implant the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin deeply in the minds and hearts of its members, to adopt the key points of this unerring scientific theory and, basing itself on this ideology, to apply it step by step in the conditions of China, in the dialectical development of the struggle in that country. This brought about that the Communist Party of China was divided into many factions within itself. At the same time, outside it permitted the existence of the other parties of the bourgeoisie and their participation in the state. Indeed Mao himself officially described their participation in the state and the government, with the same rights and prerogatives as the Communist Party of China, as essential and, moreover, according to him, these parties of the bourgeoisie were historical and could not die out until the time came that the Communist Party of China withered away.

In a word, Mao Zedong had the view that they should go to socialism through pluralism. This was a rightist reactionary slogan. It was not a Marxist slogan which could have been understood, up to a point, as a form of alliance of the Communist Party of China with other traditional parties in the front, in which the Communist Party of China had the leading role. No.

In his theoretical writings Mao Zedong says that China could not have been liberated without the leadership of the peasantry, that the revolution in China was a peasant revolution. According to him, the peasantry was the most revolutionary class, that it had to lead the revolution "and did lead the revolution". This is a major theoretical error on the part of Mao Zedong and shows that he was not a Marxist-Leninist but an eclectic and a bourgeois-democrat. Mao Zedong, as a progressive democrat, was for a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and when China was liberated, he clung to the same views. According to his views, the peasantry was the leading force and the working class had to be its ally, the state power in China had to be, first of all, the state of the peasantry and "the countryside had to encircle the city". Mao Zedong wanted to transform this bourgeois-democratic theory of his into a universal theory and, in fact, this "theory" was called "Mao Zedong Thought". In order to make it as acceptable as possible the Chinese leaders put an equal sign between Marxism-Leninism and "Mao Zedong Thought".

Throughout its whole history the Communist Party of China has contained a large number of factions, stresses this note further on. There have been factions, ideological deviations, in every Marxist-Leninist party, but in China these deviations have had another character, which can be equated with the factions of the French bourgeois-democratic revolution, apart from the fact that in China they did not cut off the heads of political opponents. In China of course, these factions retained their allegedly ideological character, but in fact they had more of a political character and were for the aim of establishing personal power, had precisely the character of the actions of "warlords", who naturally, did not want the newly created Chinese republic to take the road to socialism, the road of a centralized disciplined state.

[AU151705] The Chinese list these as "10 struggles" which Mao Zedong has waged. They are struggles, but in the Communist Party of China these are not struggles like those in the Bolshevik Party or in our party, where on the one side there were genuine Marxist-Leninists who fought to defend the party and its Marxist-Leninist line, and on the other side, the Trotskyite, anarchist deviators and what not. No, in these factions of the Communist Party of China none of the sides was guided by Marxism-Leninism. There were factions in which all were guided by confused views, progressive bourgeois views rather than Marxist-Leninist. Other factions were more to the right or more to the left, but in the leadership of the Communist Party of China there was never a Marxist-Leninist faction, that is, a sound Marxist-Leninist nucleus. Thus, Mao Zedong and the comrades around him were not genuine Marxist-Leninists, they were progressive bourgeois democrats, Marxists in appearance and phraseology, but who fought, and fought to the end, for the consolidation of a progressive bourgeois-democratic great state, for a "new democracy", as Mao Zedong called it.



Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Chen and other elements were rightists, elements of the bourgeoisie who defended the big national bourgeoisie in order to preserve its prerogatives, of course, disguised with leftist demagogy, and this faction did this under the communist disguise. For a long period after the liberation this group had power within the Communist Party of China and acted on this course for the consolidation of the Chinese capitalist bourgeoisie.

#### Mao Zedong Was Not a Marxist-Leninist

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Mao Zedong was not a Marxist-Leninist, but a progressive bourgeois revolutionary, more progressive than Liu Shaoqi, but still a centrist revolutionary, who posed as a communist and stood at the head of the Communist Party. Within China, in the party, among the people, and abroad, he had the reputation of a great Marxist-Leninist who fought for the construction of socialism. But his views were not Marxist-Leninist, he did not follow the theory of Marx and Lenin, was a continuer of the work of Sun Yat-sen, but in more advanced positions, and dressed up his views, so to say, with some leftist revolutionary formulas, some Marxist-Leninist theses and slogans. Mao Zedong posed as a Marxist-Leninist dialectician, but he was not so. He was an eclectic who combined the Marxist dialectic with Confucian idealism and the old Chinese philosophy. The fact is that in his leadership of the party and the state, in his policy and ideology, in the development of China and its party, and in international developments, he did not base himself on the Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics to guide China on the road to socialism.

On the other hand we see that a leftist wing existed in the party which also disguised itself with Marxist-Leninist slogans. All these deviations did not assist the cause of socialism. In order to achieve the one aim, with different form and through different methods, all the sides, with nearly the same disguise, raised the banner of Mao Zedong, all fought under the banner of Mao Zedong, which was not a Marxist-Leninist banner. It merely had this reputation. After the death of Mao Zedong it became quite clear that this banner was not Marxist-Leninist.

What happened? As he says himself, Hua Guofeng "at one blow" overthrew "the four" and the whole non-Marxist centrist theory of Mao Zedong, brought to power the right wing, in a word, all the elements condemned by the "Great Cultural Revolution," allegedly, proletarian revolution, and carried out a coup d'etat as Napoleon I did and as Napoleon III did later. And Deng Xiaoping is nothing other than a petty Napoleon. Just like Napoleon, who wanted to create the French empire, with the aim that France should dominate Europe at that time and stop the expansion of the British Empire, to blockade Britain on its island and defeat it, Deng Xiaoping and company are fighting for world hegemony today with the aim that China should become a superpower which can dominate the world

and indeed predominate, if possible, even over the United States of America, let alone over the Soviet Union. China is trying to achieve this aim by means of war, by arming itself with the most modern means, by developing its economy and technology with the aid of capitalist states, and by pursuing a certain policy, a certain ideology, which is based on a non-Marxist theory, which is called "Mao Zedong Thought".

[AU151706] The Chinese revisionists will use this theory as a disguise to pose as socialists, but in fact they are not and cannot be socialists, cannot be Marxist-Leninists. The Chinese revisionists can no more be Marxist-Leninists than Napoleon could have been a follower of Robespierre, a Jacobin, or a supporter of Babeuf. The Chinese revisionists are just like Napoleon who fought to establish his empire. He did create and establish his empire, but it was soon destroyed. In the same way, the day will come when the Chinese revisionists are destroyed.

Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian revolution will triumph in China, and these renegades will be defeated. Naturally, such a revolution will not triumph without fighting and bloodshed, because great efforts must be made in China to create the main subjective factor--the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, which did not exist as such before and does not exist now.

Likewise, the masses must be prepared so that they understand that one cannot live with illusions. The masses must become politically aware that those leading them are not Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, but elements of the bourgeoisie, of capitalism, who have entered a course which has nothing in common with socialism and communism. But if they are to understand this, the masses must understand the basic question that "Mao Zedong Thought" is not Marxism-Leninism and that Mao Zedong was not a Marxist-Leninist. He did not betray himself, as you might say. We say that Mao is a renegade, is an anti-Marxist, and this is a fact. We say this because he tried to disguise himself with Marxism-Leninism, but in fact he was never a Marxist.

In general, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes, we can say that in some directions the revolution in China had certain features of a tendency to develop on the socialist road, but the measures taken stopped halfway, or were annulled, as they are being annulled at present, and the masks will be dropped one after the other. All these things must be understood by the Chinese people, and they must be understood outside China, too, because, unfortunately, the whole development of that country, the national liberation war of the Chinese people, the establishment of the progressive bourgeois people's democratic state, has gone down in history as a proletarian revolution, which in fact it was not, has gone down in history as if China is a country which is building socialism, which is not true, either.

I think that, in general, all that we have said about China at the 2nd and 3rd plenums of the Central Committee of the PLA and in these notes, reveals the Chinese reality, but we must not be content with saying only this. The duty devolves on us to make a profound study of the main and decisive questions of the policy and activity of the Communist Party of China in the dialectical development of its history, so that we prove these ideas and general conclusions we have arrived at, which I think are not mistaken, with facts and documents. There is no doubt that there are questions to which we have not given a full answer, there are things missing and debatable problems which require deeper study. This cannot be denied. But in general the facts show that China has travelled over such a chaotic non-Marxist road.

With what has just occurred, that is, after the putsch of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, China is passing into a more backward stage than what it had achieved with Mao Zedong. He was more progressive than Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping. These are ultra-rightists, while Mao Zedong was a centrist.

In one of my notes, I have said that the myths must be exploded, and I had in mind that precisely the myth of Mao Zedong, that myth which has described him as a "great" Marxist-Leninist, had and has to be exploded. Mao Zedong is not a Marxist-Leninist but a progressive revolutionary democrat, and in my opinion, this is the angle from which his work should be studied.

#### "Mao Zedong Thought" an Anti-Marxist Theory

I have said that the views of Mao Zedong should not be studied merely from the edited phrases in the four volumes which have been published, but must be studied in their practical application, and they have been applied in a period not like that of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of France, when, in its own time, the bourgeoisie was a progressive class. The ideas of Mao Zedong developed in the present period of the decay of imperialism, the final stage of capitalism, hence, at a time when proletarian revolutions are on the order of the day and when the example and the great lessons of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the teachings of Marx and Lenin are an unerring guide for us. The theory of Mao Zedong, "Mao Zedong Thought", which emerged in these new conditions, was bound to cloak itself with the most revolutionary and most scientific theory of the time--Marxism-Leninism, but in essence it remained an anti-Marxist theory, because it is opposed to proletarian revolutions and goes to the aid of imperialism in decay.

[AU151707] Therefore, in the ideology of Mao Zedong we shall find reflected all the aspects of the ideas which capitalism and imperialism have invented during the many years of the period of their decline and decay. "Mao Zedong Thought" is an amalgam of ideologies, beginning from anarchism, Trotskyism, modern revisionist à la Tito, à la Khrushchev,

"Eurocommunism" a la Marchais-Berlinguer-Carrillo, and finally down to the use of Marxist-Leninist formulas. In all this amalgam we must also discern the old ideas of Confucius, Mencius, and other Chinese philosophers, which had a very great influence on the formation of Mao Zedong's ideas and his cultural-theoretical development. Thus it is hard to define a single line or, so to say, a clear line of the Chinese ideology. Even those aspects of it which may be said to be a kind of distorted Marxism-Leninism, have an Asiatic seal and character, have the specific character of an "Asiatic communism", are a sort of "Asiacommunism" the same as "Eurocommunism", in which you cannot find the proletarian internationalism of Marx and Lenin in its full and true meaning. In the Chinese ideology we shall find heavy doses of nationalism, xenophobia, religion, Buddhism, marked hangovers of the feudal ideology, not to mention many other hangovers which exist and were not systematically combated, not only during the period of the national liberation war, but especially during the period of the establishment of the state of people's democracy.

I think, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, that when we analyse "Mao Zedong Thought", we must bear in mind all these factors, which have played a major role in the political-theoretical development of the Chinese leadership and the Communist Party of China and have been reflected in their orientations and actions. The present strategy of Maoism which, as we know, consists of its alliance with the United States of America and the whole of world capitalism in order to oppose the revisionist Soviet Union, flows from this.

This is not simply a policy of adaptation to the changing political developments, but a policy which has an ideological content and the Maoists have an ideological conviction about it. The Chinese leaders think in virtually the same way as the American imperialists and the leaders of the other developed capitalist "democracies". They are at one ideologically, especially in their aims of domination, because, China, too, as a big state, does not want to put itself under the leadership and under the heel of any of these imperialists and capitalists, but wants to dominate, or at least, to have its own big say which must be listened to throughout the world. It is for this reason that, in one way or another, Maoist China advocates the alliance of the world proletariat with the capitalist bourgeoisie and American imperialism. By putting itself on this course, China in fact is hindering the world revolution and distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory just as the other revisionists are doing. Its policy and activity serve imperialism and capitalism, which is giving up the ghost, as a fresh injection to revive it and prolong its life.

The basis of the opposition which Maoist China has with Soviet revisionism is simply that Maoist China considers the Soviet Union a weaker imperialist power than the United States of America and thinks that, in alliance with American imperialism, it will realize its expansionist



dreams--the occupation of Siberia and other eastern regions of the Soviet Union.

This is the basis of the contradiction between China and the Soviet Union, and this contradiction does not have an ideological character, as it is presented, that is, that China is allegedly Marxist-Leninist and the Soviet Union revisionist. No, both these countries are revisionist, have a bourgeois ideology which guides them and they are fighting against the revolution precisely in the conditions of the decay of imperialism.

Therefore, it seems to me that all these notes must be deepened and backed up more thoroughly with a richer documentation, a documentation which must be searched for, because it exists in one way or another, either in the newspapers or books which, from time to time, are published in China or abroad. However, these must be studied in a critical manner, and must be compared with the Chinese reality and the fundamental principles and theses of our great revolutionary ideology--Marxism-Leninism.

[16 Nov 79]

[AU171720] [Text] Tirana, 16 Nov (ATA)--In his notes of the second volume of the book "Reflections on China" Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes also the stand of the Chinese revisionists toward the international communist and workers movement and the new Marxist-Leninist parties about which they said no word about their existence and activity and gave no real aid of them.

#### This Means Blatant Treachery

In the note of Friday, April 20, 1973, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

With utter shamelessness, the director of the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Keng Piao, tells our ambassador in Beijing and a comrade of ours who has gone there for medical treatment, in front of all the main personnel of his directory:

"The Marxist-Leninist movement in the world is steadily advancing, but time is still needed for the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups to affirm themselves. We do not publish the propaganda material from the newspapers of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties for two reasons:

If we publish such articles in our press to make known some success which a Marxist-Leninist party has just achieved we shall attract the attention of the enemy who will take measures against it and such a thing is both to the disadvantage of ourselves and of that party itself.

From the experience of several years of work it turns out that it is not necessary for us to propagate the actions of these parties much, because the enemy acts. Thus, for example, the majority of leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India have been killed or imprisoned."

According to Keng Piao, the leaders of these parties cannot go to China because the police are watching for them, because the enemy has created an espionage network and so on. "In the case of Japan, however", said Keng Piao, "the situation is different". "The representatives of these parties and groups", he continued, "want to come to us thinking that this can have an influence in strengthening their internal work. We cannot tell them not to come, therefore, we invite them as friends. Thus, even persons from parties that have fought and slandered us come to visit us. When Nixon and Tanaka came, why should the others not come? Indeed, Nixon came for his own electoral needs. Let even Chiang Kai-shek come, if he wants to".

He speaks openly and cynically as an anti-Marxist, admits with his own mouth that China has given up the revolution, that it no longer assists the revolution and the Marxist-Leninist groups that are fighting throughout the world. It hides itself behind the smokescreen that allegedly it must not compromise these parties and groups in the eyes of the enemy, while in reality it is China that wants to demonstrate to imperialism and the bourgeoisie that it is neither assisting nor supporting their enemies, the communists. What perfidy. The communists in different countries of the world have launched their revolutionary struggle, legally and illegally, have looked death in the eye, while the Chinese are so shameless as to say that "these communists want to come to China to strengthen their internal positions". These comrades seek the aid of China because they think that it is socialist, while the China of Mao Zedong does not speak about them, does not propagate or republish their articles, does not assist them, but merely observes that all the leaders of one or the other party have been killed. What shamelessness!

Socialist China receives the communist comrades in the same way as Nixon, Tanaka and the revisionists, just as it might receive Chiang Kai-shek. This means blatant treachery. They are acting against the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and revolutionary groups in the same way as the Soviets.

Once again dwelling on the stand of the Communist Party of China toward the Marxist-Leninist parties in the note of Friday, July 4, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The Chinese try to give the impression that they assist the revolutionary forces secretly. This is not true at all and cannot be true, because China is concerned about establishing good relations with, for example,

the state of the Federal German Republic and its firms, and not with the German Marxist-Leninist communists. Its so-called assistance to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries is merely a support that China gives them if they praise China and its policy in Bonn, Paris or Rome. However, to act in this way, means to be a friend to reaction in those countries.

#### Not a Word Was Said in China About the Spanish Heroes

In the note of Tuesday, September 30, 1975 Comrade Enver Hoxha severely exposes and condemns the base stand of the Chinese revisionists who, not reconciling themselves with the existence and development of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, said not a single word in defense of five Spanish comrades who were executed by the hangman Franco. In this note he writes:

It is a (?scandalous), anti-Marxist stand on the part of the Chinese that up until now they have not said a single word in defense of our five Spanish comrades, of whom three were members of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), whom the hangman Franco executed. The whole world rose to its feet in stern protest, the entire world proletariat, indeed even the bourgeois government and the Vatican protested against this filthy, revolting act and recalled their ambassadors from Madrid, while only "Mao's revolutionary socialist China" said not one word about the Spanish heroes. Is this a revolutionary stand? A Marxist-Leninist stand? No, this is a reactionary stand in the full meaning of the word. China defends Franco, just as it acted yesterday in defending Pinochet of Chile. Hence, it is clear that China defends the fascist running dogs of American imperialism, defends the United States of America. Such stands cannot be covered up with slogans like "...the peoples want revolution," and so forth, when in fact China is defending the counterrevolution.

#### [AU171805] Espionage Agency Methods To Split the World Communist Movement

This is the title of the note of Saturday, December 25, 1976 in which Comrade Enver Hoxha writes among others:

They informed me about the talk which the leader of the delegation of the (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party of ... had with our comrades. As he himself told us, our guest had gone to China, sent by the representatives of eight (Marxist-Leninist) communist parties of Latin American countries, to inform the Communist Party of China about the meeting they had held and the statement these eight parties had signed.

The comrade was revolted and indignant about the inquisitorial reception he was given by eight comrades of Keng Piao's, because Keng Piao himself did not deign to attend this "trial". He said: "It was the

first time that I went out of my country and never imagined that such a stand, like that of an interrogator cross examining a criminal, could be adopted between two sister parties. In this case", he said, "the criminal was I, the secretary of a (Marxist-Leninist) communist party, while they were the 'interrogators'".

"For hours on end and days on end", he continued, "the Chinese ceaselessly assailed me with questions and insisted that I read their materials".

"They made the accusation against the Party of Labour of Albania and the eight parties of the Latin American countries that they have publicly and openly 'accused' the Communist Party of China and the line of Mao Zedong. I firmly rejected these accusations and asked: Why do you involve the Party of Labour of Albania in this question? It has no connection with our meeting and knew nothing about it, although we informed it as we are informing you. The Chinese called the meeting of representatives of our eight parties a 'conspiracy against China, like that which was carried out in Bucharest'".

What monstrosity! The comrade said that the Chinese consider that Latin America is not the prey of the United States of America and that the states of this zone are not heading toward fascistization, but are "independent bourgeois democratic states". "Hence, according to the judgement of the Chinese", he said, "we must cease the armed struggle and even make self-criticism that we began the struggle".

Then the comrade added: "Violating every norm, the Chinese fiercely attacked the Party of Labour of Albania, listing a series of contradictions which you have with the line and strategy of Mao Zedong".

The Chinese, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, do not want to reply to us directly, because they dare not enter into polemics with us. On the other hand they use Trotskyite inquisitorial methods, espionage agency methods, to fight our party behind its back, to isolate it from the international communist movement and split it. This is an action which is carried out by a bourgeois, capitalist and imperialist great state. We shall fight them fiercely and triumph.

The Chinese revisionists are against the unity of the international movement of the proletariat.

In continuation of his notes, on Saturday, January 8, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: In the relations of the Communist Party of China with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world everything is deception and demagogy. The Chinese do not maintain sincere relations with these parties, they maintain relations with their lackeys only, those who are obedient to them in their anti-Marxist principles. To the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world they make it quite



clear that neither internationalist aid nor proletarian internationalism exist. From this anti-Marxist basic idea derive all their theories about the "bilateral" meetings which they want merely to brainwash the other parties that oppose them. The Chinese avoid multi-party meetings because, they allege, instead of strengthening the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement, such meetings split this unity and increase open disagreements. Absurd! Anti-Marxist! With this line they are against the unity of the international movement of the proletariat.

The Chinese do not invite delegations to their congresses and do not send delegations to the congresses of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. The reasons which they give for this stand of theirs are likewise absurd. The truth is that with all these things they want to hide the decay of their line, the lack of Leninism in all aspects of the work of their party. And so they do not want to have other parties at these meetings to judge them. The bilateral meetings serve them only to gain information and the Foreign Directory of their Central Committee is nothing but a kitchen of the intelligence service. For the Chinese each party should be left to struggle in its own way and they do not fail to "illustrate" this idea with some Marxist quotation. But at the same time they do not fail to tell other parties: "Work as we tell you".

[AU171815] The Chinese recognize any party or group which calls itself "Marxist-Leninist" or better, Maoist. This means to divide the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, to create confusion, factions, to weaken the internationalist Marxist-Leninist unity and the headquarters of the revolution.

#### They Sowed the Wind and Now They Are Reaping the Whirlwind

In the note of Monday, February 7, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha, exposing the base and hostile actions of the Chinese leadership toward the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, writes:

According to information which reaches us, the Chinese, not only in Beijing, but also in their embassy in Paris, have summoned representatives of the (Marxist-Leninist) communist parties of Colombia and Argentina and have even offered them money in bribes with the aim that they should persuade their parties to retreat their adherence to the joint statement of eight Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin American countries which came out as a result of the meeting they held in November 1976. The comrades of these two parties were scandalized by such unscrupulous, hostile and villainous acts of the Chinese. They categorically refused their offers and declined to engage in such hostile and disgraceful actions. Naturally, other comrades from Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Europe heard about these actions of the Chinese and were scandalized.

One feels truly sorry for the fraternal Chinese people and the genuine Chinese Marxist-Leninist comrades when one sees into what nauseous swamps, into what filth and disaster the Chinese revisionists who seized power are leading China. But the boil must be lanced to get rid of the pus, hence the Chinese people must look for the source of this evil infection which has them by the throat and is choking the life out of them and must mobilize their forces to rid their body of this plague.

Likewise, all the genuine Marxist-Leninists in the world must see what sort of false "Marxism-Leninism" has been developed in China by a series of leaders who disguised themselves behind the Marxist theory in order to hide their right opportunism, revisionism and their links with the bourgeoisie internally and in the world at large.

Once he died, the mask was torn from Mao, who was the main actor in this tragedy. He entered into history as a "great Marxist-Leninist" and as long as he was alive managed to deceive peoples, parties and individuals. But in the end his performance--"merited" actor in the distortion of Marxism-Leninism--was revealed. The facts about his life, the development of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of China, determined by Mao personally, and the present situation in China are confirming the theses of the Party of Labour of Albania, which long ago, in the 60s, had detected the first signs of this ideological degeneration, a degeneration which developed gradually and became more precise.

Our seventh congress hurt the Chinese revisionists badly, therefore they acted like madmen. The Chinese revisionists acted outside, first of all against the indomitable enemy of modern revisionism, the Party of Labour of Albania, just as they acted within China, through the coup d'etat which they carried out with Hua Guofeng at the head. But they ran their heads against the wall and ended up battered and bleeding. They sowed the wind and now they are reaping the whirlwind. The Chinese revisionists thought they could frighten us, they believed that with that great body of theirs they could smother us or isolate us. They believed that "the cult of those who were dead" could play the same role as when they were alive.

However, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were cunning, both of them manoeuvred, knew all the dodges, all the political tricks, whereas the titular head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of China, Hua Guofeng, thought that the laws of his secret service would be able to replace the revolutionary [word indistinct] of Marx and Lenin, but here he broke his head.

[AU171820] On many key problems such as the anti-Marxist decisions about the alteration of the strategy of the Communist Party of China several times, the anti-Marxist stands adopted on not replying to the letters of the Party of Labour of Albania, on not sending delegations

of the Communist Party of China to the congresses of other Marxist-Leninist communist parties, and on this party not inviting the other party to its congresses, on their opposition to meetings of the representatives of many Marxist-Leninist parties, on the question of the division of the world into "three worlds", on the alliance with the United States of America, and many other problems, Mao and Zhou acted, but did not make issues of these things, did not impose them openly on those who did not swallow them. They used subtle tactics, while the "friends" who came after them, having neither the brains nor the skill of those who died, resorted to bullocking methods and use of the stick, saying: "Everything that China has done and is doing, everything that Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai have said and done is sacred, therefore all must fall on their knees before them". And here they did themselves in the eye.

The contacts of the Communist Party of China with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world are made at present by a certain Keng Piao, a rabid anti-Marxist. No one calls him to account. He develops the content and form of contacts with other parties, both ideologically and organizationally, from anti-Marxist positions, from the revisionist positions of the great state and the big party. For our part we have not maintained and do not maintain any contacts with this very dubious person and his directory, which is nothing but a "wasps' nest".

We became acquainted with Keng Piao long ago, when for a short time he was the ambassador of China to Tirana, and since he left here he became the director of the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. After our 7th congress the lethargy in the relations between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania and this agent, Keng Piao, raised to a matter of principle the question of the non-participation of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties in the congress of another party, raised to a matter of principle the question that representatives from many parties should not meet. For him only "bilateral meetings" are "legal", because in such meetings he can intrigue, slander, corrupt and threaten those with whom he talks and can sell them "soap for cheese".

This nondescript director wants to impose the state policy of China on everybody. This secret agent is said to have delivered a speech to the military cadres, in which he said: "In view of the Soviet danger, the American presence in the Far East, Japan and the Philippines is necessary, and the question of Taiwan is a secondary matter. Certain 'head-strong revolutionaries' do not understand the strategy of China which demands that NATO, the 'united Europe' and the European Common Market, which are threatened by the Soviet Union, must be supported". Couldn't this Keng Piao, who speaks like a counsel for the defense of American imperialism, even be an agent of American imperialism?

In any case, he is a sworn enemy of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism, of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state, an enemy of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world. Under the leadership of Hua Guofeng, Keng Piao is elaborating and putting into practice with every means the struggle against the principles of proletarian internationalism and against the unity of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and the world proletariat which are fighting against the two superpowers, against oligarchies and against world capitalism.

The Communist Party of China, with these individuals at the head, has set out on the road of disruption and the creation of "parties" and "groups", which are guided by the opportunist, revisionist, eclectic ideas of Mao Zedong. More and more each day, these new revisionists will be exposed, will sink more deeply into the mire from which they can never emerge, except as a third social-imperialist power, and the party of Mao will assume the colour, the features and the ideological content of the "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union, of the Khrushchevites, and will pursue its own strategic aims.

[17 Nov 79]

[AU190907] [Text] Tirana, 17 Nov (ATA)--In the note of Thursday, April 28, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes the Trotskyite and counter-revolutionary stand of the Chinese leadership toward the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. The note is entitled:

#### The Rallies of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the Stand of China

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The great internationalist rally which was held in Rome on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the death of Antonio Gramsci, the great rally of proletarian internationalism of the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), which was held in Lisbon, as well as the two earlier rallies which were held, one in West Germany after the 3rd congress of the Communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), and the other in Italy, by the Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist), all have great importance for the communist movement throughout the world.

These rallies of Marxist-Leninist communist parties in which the representatives of fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, including representatives of the PLA, take part, are of enormous assistance to the communist movement throughout the world. We are showing the peoples and the communists that, irrespective of the betrayal of the Soviet and other modern revisionists, irrespective of the opportunist deviation of the Communist Party of China, Marxism-Leninism will never die, but on the contrary is advancing, growing stronger, being tempered in class battles against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the reactionary bourgeoisie and the fascists that have raised their heads.



The idea of multi-party meetings, besides bilateral meetings, which was expressed at the 7th congress of our party, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, was one of its important orientations. On the occasion when they judge it necessary, the Marxist-Leninist communist parties can and should hold multi-party meetings and consult with one another about joint actions against the enemies of communism and the revolution. As we know, however, the Communist Party of China maintains the opposite stand on this important question. It is against meetings of several or many parties and claims that the only solution is the practice of bilateral meetings.

What is the line of our party in connection with this question? It upholds the principle that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties must strengthen their unity, must clear up opposing points which might exist in their strategy and tactics against the enemies of the revolution and coordinate their joint activity in the international arena. Such activity tempers them and shows the enemies that communism is an indomitable force, that the communists are not split and that modern revisionism has no possibility of achieving its aim. As we know, the aim of modern revisionism is to ensure its unity in diversity, in order to liquidate the unity of Marxism-Leninism. Meanwhile the line of the Communist Party of China on this question is that the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world should remain in illegality or semi-legality. According to the Communist Party of China these parties throughout the world can operate within their own countries, and if they want to display themselves, let them go to Beijing, make contact with Geng Biao or even Hua Guofeng, eulogize the Communist Party of China, issue a communique in the press about this contact, and that is all. Then let all of them go home.

This means that the Marxist-Leninist communist parties in the world should live under the umbrella of the Communist Party of China.

China is afraid of multi-party meetings because its participation in these meetings will require that problems of importance to international communism and the revolution must be discussed. But the Communist Party of China cannot stand up to discussions because the feeble foundations which it has on a series of major problems for the cause of communism would be eroded. That is why it avoids meetings of this type and wants the Marxist-Leninist communist parties to hold only bilateral meetings, and while not being in harmony with one another, to be in harmony with the Communist Party of China.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on:

How can we reconcile ourselves to the stands of China which, on the one hand, goes to the aid of Mobutu, this representative of Congolese capital, with arms and, what is more, is ready to go to a meeting which the son of Bhutto, this agent of the CIA, who oppresses the people of his own country, wants to organize in Pakistan about the so-called Third

World, and on the other hand, as cool as you like, expresses its opposition to meetings of several Marxist-Leninist communist parties? China combats these meetings, splits the Marxist-Leninist communist parties, and maintains contacts with a series of groups of dissidents and individuals infiltrated into them by the agencies of capital and the bourgeoisie of different countries. No, there can be no conciliation over this, because the Chinese line is an opportunist line, a non-Marxist-Leninist line in the service of world capital. We think that China is making many mistakes on this issue and is going far off the correct Marxist-Leninist course.

[AU190912] China Defends Those Parties Which Beat Its Drums

Speaking of the attempts of the Chinese revisionist leaders to split the international communist movement, in the note of Thursday, June 2, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The Communist Party of China is proceeding systematically to split the international communist movement. It has informed the rank and file people about the contradictions over principles which it has with the Party of Labour of Albania. This information has been given according to their views, hence misleading the party and the people, pointing out that "the faults and the distorted views" are on our side, whereas it is allegedly on the Marxist-Leninist road.

With regard to other Marxist-Leninist communist parties which have been formed in different countries of the world, the Communist Party of China maintains this stand: Those Marxist-Leninist parties which resolutely implement Marxism-Leninism, which analyze the problems in the light of Marxism-Leninism and fight for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, which are revolutionary in thought and deed, it combats. While those "Marxist-Leninist" parties and groups which blindly take the side of the Communist Party of China and defend, proclaim and advertise the mistaken line of the "Third World", of the struggle only against Soviet social-imperialism, of unity with the bourgeoisie, defence of the European Common Market, etc., etc., it has divided in two groups: Those which are completely with it are invited to Beijing where they are met by Hua Guofeng personally, while the others, which are still with the revisionist line of the Communist Party of China, but do not defend it quite so ardently and merely enunciate it, are not received by Hua Guofeng, but by Geng Biao or Li Xiannian. For them there are no banquets from Hua Guofeng, as there are banquets for the former.

In those countries where there are no such parties, the Chinese, by means of elements who beat the drum of the Communist Party of China and are its agents, by means of various associations of friendship with China, manipulated in different countries by the XINHUA correspondents who are agents of the Chinese intelligence service (we say this with conviction as it has been proved on many occasions), create groups, so-called Marxist-Leninist

parties, with the ideology of "Mao Zedong Thought". The Chinese direct these "parties" toward struggle against the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties which have long been formed in different countries and which fight consistently for the revolution on the road of Marxism-Leninism.

It seems to me that this has two aims. On the one hand, defence of the Chinese line, i.e., defence of American imperialism and the capitalist bourgeoisie, the preservation of this evil world and the postponement of the revolution. This is precisely why the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties which hinder the Chinese line are combated. On the other hand, by means of these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties and groups which beat the Chinese drum, China is infiltrating, planning and adopting [word indistinct] with the old revisionist parties of Western Europe as well as other continents like Australia, etc. Indeed, the Communist Party of China has made contact with the Spanish revisionist party of Carrillo. It is said that it has made contact with the Italian revisionist party, too, and will certainly do so with the French revisionist party.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha continues: With the Party of Labour of Albania, in reality, it does not maintain contacts. We have wanted to have contacts with the Communist Party of China but these contacts have not existed. Only diplomatic, friendship and trade relations have existed between us, but not party relations. Even when our party has sent delegations they have made visits and trips but have not been able to do the work and hold the talks which we wanted.

With the revisionists, however, the Communist Party of China is entering ever more deeply into working relations and ideological and organizational links. This is how the situation stands. This is the new tactic of the Communist Party of China on its road of revisionist degeneration.

#### The Communist Party of China Is Organizing Its Satellites

In the note dated Durrës, Tuesday, July 5, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha also exposes some so-called Marxist-Leninist parties which became tools of the Chinese revisionists to defend their anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary line and activity.

The Communist Party of China, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, is organizing its satellites to hold meetings and make statements. The latest meeting was held between the allegedly Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Belgium and Holland. These parties affirmed the "militant unity and the identity of their views". In honoring the memory of Mao Zedong, these two parties declared that he "enriched the science of the revolution to a great degree, linking it closely with three elements of our epoch: Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought". Now they no longer say

"Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought", but put the three elements on the same footing. They stress that in order to analyze the international situation one must proceed from Mao Zedong's "famous" thesis of the "three worlds".

Now that the revisionist deviation is developing in China, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, these parties are finding their place and also the umbrella to shelter under, and from these positions they are fighting our party and the other Marxist-Leninist communist parties which stand firm on the line of the Marxist-Leninist theory, hence at the same time they are fighting against the proletarian revolution and the people's liberation.

[AU190919] It is interesting to observe (and it is not only now that we are observing this) that the Communist Party of China does not involve itself in the work of justifying and supporting these formulations of its ideas which it is disseminating in the world. It is not trying to provide theoretical explanations for these formulations of the "Third World" and those about the more powerful and the less powerful imperialism, or to prove that American imperialism has allegedly been weakened, "has become a rat, while Soviet social-imperialism has become a bear and a tiger which must not be fed".

Hence the Communist Party of China washes its hands of this polemic, backs away and keeps at a safe distance from it, because it is afraid of the arrows which will fly and which will be lethal for the Chinese revisionists. And any amount of these arrows have and will be fired at them in the future.

The present policy of the Communist Party of China is to urge these allegedly Marxist-Leninist parties which it has put under Hua domination to speak about their anti-Marxist theories. Naturally, seeing the Marxist-Leninist reaction against them in the world, according to the occasion and the need, these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties which are beating the drum for the Chinese, resort to phrases with two or three meanings. These are phrases which Geng Biao has sent them from the centre established in Beijing. This means that the present leadership is following the same tactic that Mao Zedong and his successors have always followed, of not speaking about delicate issues, of speaking with great reservation, of speaking in such a way as to present two sides, both for and against, to take a stand at the head, in the middle and at the tail, so that in every situation they can pull something out of the bag in which they have gathered all these "jewels" and say "this is what we have said not that".

Therefore we must continue to wage the polemic from our side against this right deviation, against this dangerous variant of modern revisionism, against the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism which is being repeated this time by the Chinese leadership. We must develop the



polemic making it more and more severe, making the issues very plain, so that nothing remains obscure and the comrades of our party and our whole people understand what problems we are referring to and against whom the polemic is aimed. In this way our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist comrades abroad and their genuine parties, too, will be able to understand the situation more clearly from our polemic and will be better aware of the opinions of our party in opposition to this treacherous right deviation.

### The "Mother" Party and Its Bastard "Daughters"

Under the above title, in the note dated: Pogradec, Monday, August 1 [as received], 1977 Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes and denounces the Chinese revisionist clique which is fighting to liquidate the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. In the note, he writes:

The Foreign Directory of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in Beijing, which allegedly maintains contacts with the international communist movement abroad, has in fact become a centre in which the plans are fabricated for splitting the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and for the creation of new parties and groups which follow the new Chinese revisionist line. It is self-evident that these are not genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties, but revisionist, pro-Chinese ones. This directory is run by a certain Geng Biao, former ambassador to Sweden, to Albania, and I don't know where else. It is a fact that all the "representatives" of XINHUA in various countries of the world are linked with this directory and are elements of the Chinese intelligence service.

The other mission of this Foreign Directory of the Communist Party of China, as I mentioned, is to fabricate pro-Chinese, self-styled Marxist-Leninist parties. These parties are created to give the false impression that the Communist Party of China allegedly has widespread support among the world proletariat.

In the countries where there are genuine Marxist-Leninist parties China fabricates the so-called Marxist-Leninist communist parties to propagate the pro-imperialist, anti-Marxist, revisionist theses of Mao Zedong's China against Marxism-Leninism, against our party and all other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

This savage Chinese revisionist current is added to the other savage revisionist current, the Soviet one. In essence there is no difference between these two currents and they comprise a big, indeed a colossal force against the revolution. We Marxist-Leninists who militate in genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties have to resist and expose this furious anti-Marxist current, which uses all possible means to deceive the world proletariat so that it will not fight, but will enter into "class peace" with its rabid enemy, big world capital, which

oppresses it. Such are the two social-imperialist states, the Soviet and the Chinese, the one completed and the other in the process of formation, but which will not stop in the course it has started.

We must bear in mind the fact that in these conditions, the fight with the Chinese revisionists is inevitable and today or tomorrow it will become more open. We must counterpose our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy to the capitulationist, capitalist and social-imperialist strategy of Chinese revisionism. We must not nurture any hopes that the Chinese revisionists might correct themselves and, likewise, there must be no hesitation in regard to our attitude toward them.

[AU190924] Naturally, we have to gather our forces for this struggle, must find the most appropriate moments to fire our bullets and shots so that they produce the necessary and essential effect, because we are facing two powerful states, from every point of view except that they are weak ideologically and politically. These two powers, strong economically and militarily, but weak politically and ideologically, can do nothing to us because our Marxist-Leninist ideology is unerring and therefore we shall expose and defeat the enemies. Provided we know how to use our struggle against the enemies of the revolution, the proletariat and socialism properly and in the right place, as we have done up to now, we shall certainly win. It is our duty, the duty of the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, to coordinate our activities especially on the general lines of our policy and ideology. We must strive to avoid vacillations in our ranks. Every party of the Leninist type must function in conformity with its internal conditions, but it must judge these conditions with great care, must make a Marxist-Leninist analysis of them and, on the basis of this realistic and concrete analysis, must determine the correct tactics which will lead from victory to victory.

None of the Marxist-Leninist parties should think that they have to receive [word indistinct] from somewhere. Each of them must learn from the directives of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. For all of us, Marxism-Leninism is the guiding light. It is absolutely essential that joint activities are carried out on the basis of this ideology, without any party being dependent on the other. We are against the thesis that there must be mother and daughter parties. We are for parties with equal rights, as Marx teaches us, but this presupposes that these parties have a clear ideology by which to guide themselves and this clear ideology cannot be other than Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, in order to be able to fight the enemies, to understand their tricks, lies and attempts to split and fight us, we must thoroughly master Marxism-Leninism.

The mastery of Marxism-Leninism has great importance and this in no way excludes, but absolutely demands close collaboration and the exchange of experience between us. We must take the experience of the sister parties and they must also take our experience. This essential collaboration

does not in any way [words indistinct] dependent on one another. We implement the platform of Marxism-Leninism, are closely linked with this platform and speak about one another's successes because they rejoice us. It is very necessary and absolutely essential that we speak about one another and do not remain silent under the pretext that we will be called dependent and it will be said that this party is dependent on that party, etc. No, this accusation of enemies, who are envious at our collaboration, cannot hinder us in any way in the course of our joint action and joint struggle against the main enemy. We are in alliance, but not in a former bourgeois alliance. Our alliance is a sound and internationalist one, it has a single, outstanding, unerring leadership, Marxism-Leninism, the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We must know how to apply this theory and, in order to apply it properly, it is necessary that we master it even better. It is necessary that we define the tasks at the given time for the given moment and about given problems in the light of this theory.

In practice, China is doing what it has allegedly fought in theory. The parties which it is organizing and which have sprung up like mushrooms after the rain, it keeps under tight control and runs itself. These parties await the directives of Geng Biao in order to adopt the stand which pleases the Chinese revisionists. This occurs first of all because they are not parties of the working class, but [word indistinct] people who are paid for the services they perform. These people who call themselves "Marxists" are paid minions, not communists. They are provided with means and funds to bring out a newspaper. In these papers they publish some international news, but their particular aim is to support the revisionist theories of the Chinese.

The Chinese revisionist party has turned, in practice, into a "mother" party and the others are its "daughters", its bastard offspring. Both "mother" and "daughters" must be exposed, must be routed, because they are united with the capitalist bourgeoisie of one individual country and the international bourgeoisie with which they hatch up [word indistinct] joint plans against the peoples, against the revolution, and in this way cause a great damage.

Our party acts and will continue to act according to the example of our great teacher, Lenin, who never hesitated to attack parties of the bourgeoisie of every description in different countries or to attack renegades, those who at first adopted Marxist-Leninist stands and then betrayed. Our party always bears in mind the example and activity of great Lenin, who was never an opportunist, but always had regard for the major interest of the revolution throughout the world.

[18 Nov 79]

[AU202205] [Text] Tirana, 18 Nov (ATA)--In the second volume of the book "Reflections on China", Comrade Enver Hoxha devotes a broad space

to the hostile stand of the Chinese revisionists towards Albania. As Comrade Enver Hoxha had foreseen long ago, the Chinese revisionist leadership, during the years 1973-1977, further aggravated its hostile stand and its anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian actions. Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes and condemns these actions. In the note of Tuesday, March 13, 1973 entitled:

#### Provocations by the Chinese "Specialists" Like Those by the Soviet Revisionists

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: A long time ago the Chinese comrades began to slow down the delivery of materials, machinery, and blue-prints, etc., to us. They "justify" this failure on their part to fulfil contracts with all sorts of excuses such as: "Lin Biao sabotaged everything, therefore we are making repairs, and many things which we were to send you will be re-made". "We are backward from the technical aspect, but we shall be better after three or four years, and then we shall assist Albania more, because up till now we have assisted it very little". "The road to Albania is very long and our transport is inadequate". "China has to assist Vietnam to rebuild, as well as many other countries", etc., etc.

Likewise, the Chinese are not replying to the requests to send some of our technicians to China to look into these matters there. In connection with this problem, the Chinese ambassador in Tirana either gives the usual reply: "I have no news", or repeats the same formula about "difficulties", or says, "Many Chinese specialists in China are engaged in the problems of Albania", which indirectly implies, "there is no need for you to send your specialists to China". Meanwhile the Chinese specialists, under instigation, are beginning provocations against our people.

Watch out, Chinese comrades, because this is how the Soviet revisionists began to act against us and against Marxism-Leninism. We behave correctly, we speak openly with you in a comradely way, but we do not yield to pressure or blackmail. We are vigilant.

#### How Far Will the Coolness of Chinese Officials Towards Us Go?

Under the above title, in the note of Saturday, April 7, 1973, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: We cannot but describe the stands which the main Chinese officials maintain towards our country as cold, especially recently.

Our ambassador in Beijing is not informed about anything of international or internal importance. Only occasionally, when meeting at some reception, or in the lounge at the airport, some second or third-ranking official, in a haste, tells him something about those events over which all the foreign agencies have been clamouring for the past four or five



days, and says nothing at all about Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Korea, the Soviet Union, or the relations of China with the United States of America. Mystery and silence over the whole front. From the foreign ambassadors in Beijing we hear things which the Chinese have told them.

Mao "was ill with rheumatism" and did not receive the head of our government delegation, a member of the Political Bureau. Zhou Enlai "was very tired", therefore he did not receive Reiz Malile, while in fact neither was ill or tired, because those very same days, both the one and the other received foreign representatives, gave banquets, and visited a British exhibition. In the past, Zhou, and indeed Mao, have received even some simple official of ours. Naturally, this behaviour cannot fail to attract attention and make us keep note in order to see how far the Chinese will go with this stand they are maintaining towards us.

Likewise in the note of Friday, April 20, 1973, Comrade Enver Hoxha dwells on the cold stands of the Chinese revisionist leadership towards Albania. He writes: Zhou Enlai, Li Xiannian and Mao have cut off their contacts with us, and the contacts which they maintain are merely formal diplomatic ones. Albania is no longer the "faithful, special friend". China does not take part in our political manifestations because it is afraid it might compromise itself. It sends us the acrobats, football and volleyball teams (since they are making tours of Europe) and nothing more. They are maintaining the economic agreements, though with delays, but it is quite obvious that their "initial ardour" has died.

[AU202210] How could China be in agreement with our foreign policy when it is establishing relations with the United States of America, with Japan, with Federal Germany, with Franco's Spain, at a time when we not only do not establish relations with them, but continually expose their imperialist and fascist policy? How can China approve the revolutionization of our country, the struggle against religion and the Vatican, when Yu Chang, a top functionary of the Foreign Ministry of China, tells our ambassador, "We are quite unable to do these things you are doing, because over 50 million of the Chinese population comprise elements from the overthrown classes and their families"? It couldn't be otherwise because, while religion, the church and the Vatican are fought in our country, in China, in Beijing, they are opening Catholic and Orthodox churches and cathedrals and attendance is propagated by the Chinese press. The world capitalist press, summing up the opportunist stands of China over many international problems, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, does not fail to point out our stands towards the same problems, and naturally comes to the conclusion that contradictions exist between China and Albania, that "Albania has become totally isolated and has been abandoned by China", etc.

The same stand, which China has maintained towards the Marxist-Leninist communist parties and revolutionary groups, of not publishing anything

about them in order to avoid "compromising itself", it is now maintaining towards the People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. They are publishing nothing about us, apart from the welcoming and farewelling of football and volleyball players and Chinese acrobats. Everything else in regard to Albania has disappeared from the Chinese press. With this stand the Chinese want to tell the capitalist and revisionist world openly that they have no special relations with socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. But socialist Albania and the Party of Labour, for their part, tell the world communist movement, the Chinese, and the capitalist and revisionist world that they remain unshaken, granite-firm, on the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist road, that they have not moved and will not move a fraction from these stands and will triumph.

#### The Chinese Have Cooled Off Their Political Contacts With Us. We Must Try To Break the Ice

This is the title of the note dated: Durres, Wednesday, August 1, 1973. He writes: I expressed the opinion to Mehmet that the time has come, perhaps in March or April next year (this we must look at and decide), for a delegation with him at the head to go on a friendly visit to China. All these events have taken place in China, "the Cultural Revolution is over", "Lin Biao has been liquidated", China has opened its doors to the United States of America with its policy. Since that time the Chinese have cooled off their political contacts with us. They are doing nothing, making not the slightest effort to exchange opinions with us on the many important international problems, although from our side, from me personally down to other cadres, we have not failed to express our opinions to them. The Chinese remain silent and indeed have reached the point that their press does not reflect any of our writings and does not even speak of the successes of our country. They have the representatives of their news agency in our country, who transmit only short daily news items.

Of course, this reflects their predisposition to carry on with their own policy. They were annoyed and certainly did not like the opinion we expressed in regard to Nixon's visit to China. But what came out of this meeting with the Americans, in the end? Nothing that we can see and they themselves are saying nothing. They are keeping everything secret. Our criticism was an internal one. In all this it was made clear and distinct that we had changed nothing in our stand towards the United States of America, continued and will continue to struggle against it, while the Chinese softened their struggle. Perhaps they wanted us to do the same as they, but this we did not do and are not doing, and we are on the right road. Nevertheless, despite the contradictions which exist between us on these problems, we must try to break the ice created through no fault of ours. This is in the interest of our country, China and the revolution.

## Why Are the Chinese Against Our Building the Fierza Hydro-Power Plant?

Exposing the economic pressures of the Chinese revisionist leadership towards Albania, in the note of Tuesday, April 2, 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Why is the Chinese leadership treating the question of the Fierza hydro-power plant, a major question for us, in a wrong and, we can even say, hostile way? As the Chinese experts have presented the problem, they are telling us openly that we should abandon the building of this hydro-power plant. But why? Can it be "a question of lack of geological studies"? This is not true. These studies have been done, and have been found complete even by them, and we have signed joint documents on them. What then?

[AU202215] Could this be a hostile act of certain Chinese experts who have reported the matter wrongly to their leadership which has reached the point of saying to them: "You are right, we must avoid a possible catastrophe"? This thesis is possibly correct, because this same Chinese deputy-minister of energy at one time defended the thesis that the "Vau i Dejes hydro-power plant would be a catastrophe". We opposed this, and the power plant was built. Zhou Enlai declared that the Chinese experts were wrong, while the Albanian experts were correct. The Vau i Dejes hydro-power plant is sound and well.

Let us hope that this is what will occur with the Fierza hydro-power plant, too. We shall see how the exposition, which Rahman Haku (minister of construction--Ed. note) will make to the Chinese minister of energy is received. If they persist in their mistaken view, here too, we will knock at doors higher up until our just cause triumphs.

Rahman Haku reports to us from Beijing that the leaders of the Chinese experts for the Fierza hydro-power plant informed Petrit Radovicka (leader of the Fierza hydro-power plant design group--Ed. note) that "the Chinese experts are not retreating from their standpoint". In other words, this means that the hydro-power plant should not be built. Radovicka replied that our experts are not retreating either, because we are right. Rahman will seek a meeting with the respective Chinese minister and present the question to him according to the instructions we have given him.

## The "Storm" Over Fierza Ended in Disgrace for the Chinese

In the note of Wednesday, April 10, 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The "storm" which the Chinese comrades raised over the Fierza hydro-power plant turned out to be just "a storm in a tea cup". The whole problem was to create a situation in which to say to us: "You take responsibility for the design of the hydro-power plant, and we shall assist you with everything as before". The Chinese were afraid of the responsibility. We told them that we agreed, we assumed responsibility. They have signed the official document. The Chinese admitted to their

shame that they are afraid of the responsibility. What can't they stomach?

#### The Chinese Again Postpone the Visit of Our Party and Government Delegation

In the note of Sunday, May 26, 1974, Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the "reasons" of the Chinese revisionist leadership to postpone the visit of the delegation of the P.L.A. and our government to China. He writes:

Behar informs us that by means of Li Xiannian, the Chinese told him that they cannot receive the delegation of our party and government headed by Comrade Mehmet in the second half of this year, but are postponing its visit for the first half of 1975. Of course we accept this, but were we in their place, we would not do such a thing. We made this request nearly a year ago and they put it off for this year. We wanted the visit to be made in the first half of 1974, but the Chinese proposed the second half of 1974 because their calendar of receptions was heavily laden. This was quite possible and may have been normal, while this second postponement is not normal. What are the reasons? No reason holds good. Think what you like of it. Imagine a thousand reasons.

This is the substance of what Li Xiannian said: "You must understand, we have given your request special consideration and have seriously studied it, and next year, bearing in mind the internal and external situations, we will be more prepared to welcome your delegation. We shall satisfy you better next year. At present we are busy with the campaign against Lin Biao and Confucius", etc.

[AU202220] These "excuses" are astounding. Are these excuses? If there is something else, whether in the internal or external situations, they can tell us. We can suppose many things, but we had better wait and see.

Are they putting off the visit of our delegation because they have contradictions with us? We have and will have contradictions next year, too, but these contradictions have been internal ones and are no reason to hinder visits from our delegations. These contradictions, which exist between us have not been made public, but the public has drawn its own conclusions, for example from our stand against American imperialism. However, life shows that the Chinese have suffered disillusionment with the policy of open doors to the United States of America. After this new stand of the Chinese towards them, the Americans ought to have gradually weakened their links with Taiwan; on the contrary, however, they sent a new ambassador there, and moreover a former assistant secretary of state. Therefore in the analysis which the Chinese may make of the contradictions we have had with them, they must come to the conclusion (if they want to draw a conclusion) that we have been and are right. Therefore I think we cannot exclude the possibility that the Chinese comrades are postponing the visit of our delegation to China in order to avoid a



confrontation with us, otherwise, they would have to make self-criticism to us.

### China Is Not Implementing the Policy of Internationalist Aid Between Socialist Countries

Stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha in the note of Friday, December 13, 1974. A delegation of Chinese economists sent by the Chinese Government, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, has come here to study, together with our people, the requests we have made for the coming five-year plan.

Today they reported to me on the speech which the leader of the Chinese delegation made after our people had presented to them the outlines of our requests for projects. A. Kellezi seems to me rather optimistic, but I am not optimistic, and I shall say why. I told this also to Mehmet and Hysni and the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee, who must instruct our comrades engaged in this work to be careful and discuss matters with the Chinese in a comradely way, but to defend our views properly.

What did the Chinese say that has a discordant sound to us? Apart from the usual formulas about our friendship, the commencement of his exposition was: "China is a big country, with a population of more than 800 million people, with great needs, and is a developing country. China is supplying aid to 80 states, and has many international commitments".

He continued: "In your current plan you have nearly 20 projects which you have started or have not started, and which, naturally, you must include in the future plan". This is the second criticism. He knows that work has not started on these 20 projects because the Chinese have not been able to supply us with the things necessary to commence and continue work on them.

The Chinese representative went on further: "You must supply us with full data so that we can judge on what and how well your demands are based". And he brought out the views of Zhou Enlai: the labour force, the countryside, the building capacity, and many other details.

After reading me the speech of the Chinese, A. Kellezi told me, "We shall supply them with all the detailed data". No, I answered, we must give them data, but it is not necessary to give them the details about everything.

I told Mehmet and the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee, and they agreed, that, "As I see it, the Chinese have two tendencies: to take all the data about our economy, but not give us what we ask for, to raise many obstacles and give us little".

We, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, understand the needs of China, its extension in the world, the aid which it is giving, but as Marxists and internationalists, we think that China should give less to bourgeois governments (we know what they do with these credits, who profits from them, whom these bourgeois governments are linked with and how they are bound up in capitalist and revisionist enslaving credits) and should not refuse us our reasonable requests.

[19 Nov 79]

[AU192215] [Text] Tirana, 19 Nov (ATA)--In the note of Wednesday, April 23, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha condemns the unfriendly stand of the Chinese revisionist leadership towards Albania. The note appears under the title:

#### The Chinese Are Delaying the Visit of an Albanian Delegation to China

The Chinese comrades, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, are still not giving the green light for the visit of our government economic delegation to Beijing. Various directors of central government departments of China have told our comrades "We shall welcome your delegation at the beginning of April, or by the 15th of April, or at the end of April". But all these dates have gone by. May is approaching and they are giving us no word, at a time when delegations of every type, every nature, and every colour from other countries are going to China.

In the lands of the Chinese towards us we see two tendencies; one is the political tendency. Wherever you go and whomever you meet in China, from the common people up to many of the cadres, both at the centre and in the provinces, especially in the enterprises and people's communes, they speak with sympathy, indeed with great affection for us, while in the upper spheres the stand is somewhat reserved, not to say cold. The other is the tendency in economic relations. In regard to economic matters, we cannot say that the Chinese have not helped us, but their aid has not come on time, and only after many arguments which we have had. In these arguments some Chinese leaders have expressed opinions which have not been reasonable. We already know that China is to accord aid, in fact, is according aid to others, but to speak to us about the situation in China in the way Li Chiang did, to advise us like Mikoyan, that the visit of our government delegation with Comrade Adil Carcani at the head, must be delayed and, even worse, to appear to have forgotten our request to send another government delegation with Comrade Mehmet at the head, such a stand is not friendly.

#### Strong Chinese Economic Pressure Has Begun, But We Shall Never Give Way

In continuation of his notes, on Tuesday, June 17, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha condemns the economic pressure of the Chinese revisionists, this pressure which marks the commencement of the complete blockade

towards Albania and which is part and parcel of the great imperialist-revisionist plot against the PLA and socialist Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

After the facade of the welcome, after the usual speeches with stereotyped formulas, Zhou Enlai received Adil Carcani and the other comrades of our government delegation for fifteen minutes at the hospital. He asked after our health, and as they were leaving, said: "Tomorrow I am to have an operation, therefore I received you beforehand. I am having this operation to extend my life". This could be the case but it could also be... "Farewell, don't ask to meet me again".

Today we received a radiogram from Adil which informs us about the talks which Li Xiannian, the head of the government delegation of the PR of China, held with him officially, following the presentation of problems by Adil. The reply of the Chinese to our requests for credits and aid for the coming five-year period was despicable: The Chinese are according us only 25 per cent of the credits we sought, of which 50 per cent for projects and 50 per cent for materials. Military requirements are also included in these credits. This amount of aid is just enough to avoid saying we shall not accord you any.

The reasons the Chinese give for this are a mockery: "We are a very poor country". However, five years ago, when they were a "very much poorer country" they accorded us a credit several times greater. The fact that they have still not supplied twenty of the thirty-five projects which are in the agreements concluded and these, of course, are left for the coming five-year plan, is another matter but even the projects which we are building they are postponing beyond the current five-year plan.

To us it is clear that this stand of the Chinese is not because they are "poor", but this is an action in opposition to the resolute Marxist-Leninist stand of our party and state about their internal and foreign policy. The Chinese are not in agreement with our foreign policy, because we do not follow their political stands.

[U192220] We do not accept that "American imperialism is less dangerous than Soviet social-imperialism", as the Chinese claim. We say, "Both of them are dangerous and must be combated sternly". The Chinese have declared that they are members of the "Third World". We say that we are a socialist country and support the correct national, anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist policy of any people or state of the so-called Third World, Second World and whatever else they call themselves and put themselves into. Albania is a socialist country, is not confounded with any other and has an independent Marxist-Leninist policy. The Chinese support NATO, the European Common Market and "United Europe".

We are against such stands and do not consider them Marxist-Leninist.

It is clear that the Chinese do not like these and other stands of ours, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, because they tear down the Marxist-Leninist disguise they want to maintain, therefore they are exerting pressure on us. This pressure is economic, because politically and ideologically they have never made us yield and will never be able to make us yield. This, stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, is the beginning of the powerful economic blockade which they are imposing on us. But they will fail in this direction, too. We shall never kowtow to anyone, either the Chinese or anyone else.

It is clear that this stand from their side is part of a great imperialist-revisionist plot which has been hatched up against the Party of Labour of Albania and socialist Albania. This act of the Chinese cannot be considered separate from the great political, ideological, propaganda, economic and military pressure exerted on us by the United States of America, the Soviet Union and their satellites. Their pressure is not imaginary, but took concrete form in the military and economic plot headed by Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume, Hito Cako, Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi, Lipe Nashi, etc. The aim of these traitors was the liquidation of the party and its Marxist-Leninist leadership in order to turn socialist Albania into a revisionist country. The Soviets, the Yugoslavs, the Chinese and others dream of such an Albania. They are all in opposition to and struggle against the Marxist-Leninist policy of our party, therefore they have organized the plot with their agency within our country, have assisted and continue to assist this agency, even now that we have uncovered it and are liquidating it. With their acts, these states continue to incite this agency defeated by the blows we have dealt it, continue to encourage it, and think that with this activity they will weaken us, exert economic pressure, etc., so that we will not impose harsh sentences on the traitors. This is the aim of the present economic blockade which the Chinese are imposing on us.

Can it be said that friends act in this way? No. How did we act when China was in great difficulties and isolated from everyone? We assisted it with all our strength, stood alone facing the great storm which struck China and fought together with it through to the end. Not only were Beqir Balluku and his group old agents of the Soviets, but they were also linked with the Chinese. The inimical strategic plan that Beqir Balluku was preparing was drafted on the suggestion of Zhou Enlai. Beqir himself told us: "Zhou proposed this plan to me", while we rejected his proposal as hostile. Beqir Balluku worked secretly in the direction that Zhou Enlai proposed to him.

Comrade Enver Hoxha points out further on that:

Of a total of 35 projects which the Chinese were to supply to us for the 5th five-year plan, they gave us only ten or fifteen. A number of projects



we have not even begun, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, and this for no fault of ours. Three major projects: the metallurgical complex in Elbasan, the Fierza hydro-power plant and the deep oil processing plant at Ballsh, over which we had to wage a great struggle we began with difficulty. Despite this, their completion has been postponed for one or two years beyond the time limit set by contract. This postponement, also was for no fault of ours.

All these things, underlines Comrade Enver Hoxha, occurred at that time when Beqir Balluku was organizing the military plot and Abdyl Kellezi and Koco Theodhosi were sabotaging the oil industry and the economy in general. Can we call this coordination in aims and in time fortuitous? But when we liquidated the traitors' military putsch, when we struck the blow at Abdyl Kellezi and company, didn't the Chinese show us their wolfish snarl?

[AU192225] We will certainly overcome this difficult situation successfully. We shall mobilize the colossal energies of the people and the party, their ardent patriotism still more and will smash this blockade, too, as we have smashed all the others, we shall proceed with caution. It will not be we who will blow up the bridges of friendship with China. We shall express our opinions and our dissatisfaction openly and in a comradely way to the Chinese comrades, therefore we have prepared an official reply, which Adil will give them orally, on what we think about the extremely small aid which they accorded us. We shall tell them that we cannot understand this action without any basis and contrary to everything they have told us previously. We shall tell them that this stand on their part will (?damage) us seriously, not only economically but also politically.

The Chinese comrades must be made to understand that they are making a mistake, and that we understand what the course of this mistake is and what this stand of theirs is intended to achieve.

#### A Hostile Course of Zhou Enlai and His Group Against Albania

Under this title appears the note of Wednesday, June 25, 1975. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The Chinese have finally determined the amount of the economic aid which they will accord us for the coming five-year plan. The commission of the two sides has met. The "famous" Li J'annian, well-known for his anti-Albanian feelings, headed the Chinese commission.

In a frank and friendly way, Adil presented our opinion about the aid which the PR of China accorded us, not for five years, but for seven and even eight years, because a number of projects are officially going from five to seven years over the period, apart from any other postponements of their completion, which the Chinese might cause on various pretexts,

with the sole aim of damaging our economy. This is the way the Chinese have proceeded with the projects of the five-year plan which is coming to a close. (?All these) projects go uncompleted into the next five-year period. Li Xiannian, this enemy of socialism in Albania, Zhou Enlai's running-dog, gave Adil a disgraceful, brutal, hostile reply, saying: "Your proposals are not accepted. We shall not even examine them, our decision is definitive and approved by our whole leadership, including Mao Zedong". "We shall not budge a single yuan from what we have decided", said Mr Li Xiannian. In other words, with this reply he wanted to say: "Take it or leave it, it is all the same to us, whatever you say".

To the request that our opinions, which Adil also handed to Li Xiannian in writing, should be communicated to Comrade Mao Zedong, Li Xiannian replied: "I shall give it to him, but don't expect any reply". According to Li Xiannian, this meant: Either "Mao is firmly opposed to deigning to give a reply to the Albanian requests", or "I'm taking this exposition of yours, which I have no intention of giving Mao but will throw into the waste-paper basket".

What the Chinese are doing to us is the beginning of strong economic pressure, by means of which they hope to subjugate us politically and ideologically. They are acting like a great power, not as revolutionaries, and not in the least as Marxist-Leninists. They do not want us to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line in any direction, but want our line and stands to be an appendage of their opportunist, unprincipled, pragmatic line. The people of this group are opposed to our line and began their economic pressure just as the Soviet revisionists did, thinking that they would force us to yield.

This line of hostility towards Albania on the part of Zhou Enlai and his group is followed at the same time as we liquidated the enemy group of Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Kellezi in our country.

[AU192230] Zhou, hence, lost the fight to overthrow us from within and, since it was impossible to operate otherwise, he used the weapon of the economic blockade. He and his group think like revisionists, that we will be isolated, will die of hunger and will be brought to our knees. They think: "There is nothing the Albanians can do". And Zhou Enlai repeated to Adil Carcani his old diabolical plan: "Unite closely with the other countries of the Balkans, regardless of the disagreements you have". The dirty scoundrel, the pseudo-Marxist enemy. We have not been brought to our knees and we are not intimidated, neither will we be left without food, but we shall live honourably, free, independent and sovereign as Marxist-Leninists, as Albanian communists, as sons of this glorious and heroic people who have never bent the knee through the centuries. We shall fight night and day in unity, with multiplied strength against any enemy, wherever he may come from. The banner of our party will always fly triumphant in battle. With our party at the

head, we shall smash any blockade, any plot, and our people will triumph, will march always forward successfully on the road to socialism and communism.

Zhou and company will break their heads, like the others, against the steel fortress of socialist Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania, an iron Marxist-Leninist party. This is an iniquitous and coordinated plot of the Group of Zhou Enlai.

Just one or two days after Li Xiannian refused Adil Carcani the credit, giving the reason that "China is very poor", Radio Moscow said in the course of a commentary about Albania: "Now the men of Tirana have realized that China is a poor state...which does not help Albania", etc. What can we say about this? Coordinated Sino-Soviet economic pressure?

#### Li Xiannian Acts Against Socialist Albania

At the 4th congress of our party, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in the note of Monday, July 1, 1975, Li Xiannian never smiled. On the contrary, he sat impassible, like a "Buddha", apart from a "twitch" of his cheek, apparently from irritation, because the delegates to the congress never tired of cheering and clapping for whole days in order to slap the unity of the Albanian communists around the Central Committee and their loyalty and the people's loyalty to the Party of Labour of Albania and Marxism-Leninism, in the face of the Soviet revisionists, Pospyslov and Andropov. This Li Xiannian, who sat unsmiling at the congress, posing as the representative of the great China over which all the turmoil occurred in Bucharest and Moscow, advised us to be cautious with the Soviets, to talk with Khrushchev and company. At the time of the Cultural Revolution, this lackey of Zhou Enlai's had become as meek as a mouse that could not find a hole to hide in. That time, they nearly put the dunce's cap on him, even criticized him severely, abused him, condemned him and dragged him through the mire. These things he told us himself. During the Cultural Revolution, on the occasion of visits by our various delegations to China, he and his patron, Zhou Enlai who escaped the purge thanks to the intervention of Mao personally, sat like wet hens. Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha continues: He speaks from under the shadow of the banner of Mao and acts against the Party of Labour of Albania, against socialist Albania, the loyal friend of China. At present these elements have power in China.

[20 Nov 79]

[AU202230] [Text] Tirana, 20 Nov (ATA)--Analyzing the facts, in the note of Tuesday, August 5, 1975, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out that the attitude of the Chinese towards Albania is getting worse. The note is entitled:

## The Attitude of the Chinese Towards Us Is Getting Worse

We are seeing a number of political incorrect stands towards us on the part of the Chinese, which attract our attention, because we have never seen them before, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At their Army Day celebration they have always put our military attache in Beijing in a place of honour, at a table with the Chinese military and civilian leaders, or with representatives of those states with whom we have relations, such as the Vietnamese, the Koreans, etc. This time it was different, and they went about it in a quite openly provocative manner: They had allocated our military attache to a table with the Soviet military attache. As soon as he learned this, our attache refused to sit down, demanded another place and protested that the Chinese comrades wanted to put him at a table with the revisionist enemy. They shifted him from that table and allocated him to another, headed by the British military attache. From one provocation to another. Our attache did not accept this place, either, and demanded that they allocate him to another place, otherwise he would be obliged not to attend the celebration. Then the provocateurs allocated him to another place.

These stands from the Chinese side are occurring at a time when our articles on recent days are not being published in the Chinese press. The Chinese did not even publish a news item about these articles, a thing which could not help attracting the attention of many foreign ambassadors in Beijing. How is it possible that China is mentioning the whole world press about the Helsinki conference and not saying one word about the Albanian press?

As well as this we have sent an exhibition of paintings to Beijing. However, the Chinese are not going to open this first in Beijing but in Guangzhou, "because the halls are occupied, since they are to open a Romanian and a Vietnamese exhibition", etc.

It is quite clear, and I think that such unfriendly gestures towards us will increase, because the Chinese are not in agreement with the line of our party, are displeased that we are not following their liberal, pro-American and pro-Western line. Certainly they were displeased that we uncovered and attacked the military traitors Beqir Balluku and his men, who had the advice on "defence", which Zhou Enlai gave them, at the foundation of their plot. Beqir Balluku and the Chinese may also have discussed other questions which I don't know of, but we do know of Zhou Enlai's ideas and advice, which he gave Beqir when he was in Beijing. On the other hand we may have trodden on the Chinese corns with the blow we dealt to the enemy Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi, etc., not because Abdyl Kellezi was the chairman of the Albanian-China Friendship Association, but because he was in agreement with the political and economic ideas of Zhou Enlai, a friend of the Chinese, "dear friend", if not more.



The decentralization of the economy, the move towards "self-administration", the sabotage in the oil industry, the inflation of the bureaucracy and other evils of Abdyl Kellezi and company were greatly to the liking of Zhou Enlai, if it was not Zhou himself who suggested all these things to them. However, Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Kellezi were two snakes whose heads we cut off and thus they could not bite us as Brezhnev and Tito, Zhou and the United States of America may have dreamed and ordered them to do. Zhou and the people of his group think that we discovered what they were up to, and they are right, because we do not think about them except on the basis of the facts which they themselves give us.

[AU202235] In these last two years, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, the attitude of the Chinese towards us has changed and has grown steadily worse. What is the reason? Our correct principled stands which are not in accord with their stands. But they have known these things for a long time. Our stands are open on every problem, and we have always stressed our great friendship with China. What then? There is no doubt that our ideological differences are at the basis of this anger of theirs, but here a major intrigue by the enemies has been going on. They are striving at all costs to ruin our friendship with China, to weaken our defence and economy and then to attack us and take power.

#### Mao Zedong Is Acting Precisely Like the Khrushchevites

In the note of Thursday, January 1, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha again dwells on the pressure exercised by the Chinese revisionist leadership towards Albania.

The Chinese stand towards our Party of Labour and socialist Albania, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, is not sincere. Up till now we have been "the best and loyalest friends of China and the Communist Party of China". In China this spirit has been developed and extended very well down at the base, and we have nothing to complain of about this. But the centre maintains a different stand. While we have put forward our views to them openly and have sought to exchange delegations and hold talks, they have turned a deaf ear to our requests. Without saying explicitly that it is not in agreement with us on many questions of principle, with this stand it is taking, the Chinese leadership in fact implies that it is not in agreement. The economic aid which we sought from the Chinese for the projects of the five-year period, 1976-1980, which will certainly take six to seven years to complete, was much reduced. They gave us 20-25 per cent of the credit we sought, receiving us coldly, closing the door to any possibility of an addition, saying, "This is Mao's opinion, too". "We are very poor", they told us, while up to two years ago, without adding to their words in any way, even to those of Zhou Enlai, they declared: "We are helping you little, very little, but after two or three years, in the next five-year period (that is, the one we have begun) we shall give you more". However, it turned out quite the opposite, and with what contempt they speak today, telling

us: "Don't ask for anything more, because no other request will be accepted". Can we call this economic pressure? Indeed we can, without any reservation. Why are they maintaining these stands? Because they are not in agreement with us on line.

Hence the Chinese revisionist leadership took all these measures to weaken us. For the moment, these actions are not so brutal as those of Khrushchev, but that is the direction in which the Chinese are heading, thinking that gradually they will get a stranglehold on us, but...a fat lot they can do to us.

Not only that, but Mao Zedong is acting precisely like the Khrushchevites. Two or three important messages have been sent to him in the name of the Central Committee of the party and over my signature, while he on his part, has not deigned to give us any reply even to maintain the standards of politeness and reciprocity. Either he has not deigned, or he does not want to leave any document about the problems which we have raised. Even the oral replies, which we have been given through his comrades, have been very negative. An official letter should be given a reply by letter, whether positive or negative.

The Chinese methods of operation are unpleasant, and why not say, cunning, too.

#### The Chinese Are Not Propagating the Correct Line of Our Party

In the note of Thursday, January 22, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha condemns the anti-Marxist stand of the Chinese revisionist leadership in the field of political-economic relations with our country.

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Volume 19 of my works has been printed and distributed in many languages. The whole foreign world, friends and enemies of Albania are talking about the correct line and courage of our party in its exposure of the Khrushchevite revisionists, and the struggle it has waged against them in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and, in particular, in defence of the Communist Party of China. In China alone, nothing has been or is being said, and neither has any organ of the press come out to say anything, even if only to announce that such a work has been published in Albania.

[AU202240] The Central Committee of the PLA and the Presidium of the Peoples Assembly published the text of the new draft-constitution of the Peoples Republic of Albania. Abroad everybody is still talking about it and analyzing it publicly. In China alone, this event of such importance to our country, this document of our party and the Albanian state, of such political, ideological, organizational and constitutional importance, has not been mentioned at all.

What is written in the Chinese press about our country is worthless. First of all, the press there does not forget to reprint the good things that are said in our country about China, while the other news amounts to banal accounts; this meeting was held, that rally was held, so-and-so spoke there, so-and-so spoke here, so-and-so arrived or so-and-so left Albania, they also publish sports news. But there is never mention that "this or that delegation of this or that Marxist-Leninist communist party went to Albania". This is the level, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, to which China has reduced its political and ideological relations with our country. This is what is happening in the press and propaganda, while the political and ideological discussions between our two parties have long been reduced to absolute zero. Not even the slightest exchange of views about events in the world takes place.

In regard to economic relations and aid to the army, these, too, have been reduced to the absolute minimum.

What is the explanation to this Chinese puzzle? They do not want to propagate the correct line of our party for these reasons:

- a) Because their false stand emerges,
- b) Because the megalomania of the big party and great state exists,
- c) Because they are not in agreement with our Marxist-Leninist line, either in theory or in practice, therefore if they propagate the correct line of our party the confrontation will automatically become obvious,
- d) Because the Chinese formulas and slogans are allegedly Marxist,
- e) Because they want us to curry favour with them, to speak and act the same as they do. The Chinese do not accept the principled Marxist-Leninist stand of our party. They want us to become their servile minions. This, naturally, will never occur,
- f) Because they did not like the internal measures which we took against the enemies of the party and state--Beqir Balluku, Hito Cako, Petrit Dume, Abdyl Kellezi, etc.

The stands of China towards our party and Peoples Republic are explicable. We do not budge from our correct positions because we are guided by Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese Are Moving Towards Blockade Against Albania

Under this title appears the note of Thursday, January 29, 1976. After exposing the provocations of the main person among the Chinese specialists at the metallurgical combine at Elbasan, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

In fact this is a provocation carried out against us to give non-existent weapons to that faction in Beijing which does not wish us well and is trying to find fabricated reasons to slow down or hold up the work and the completion of projects in our country. Such provocations are not personal, but are certainly committed on orders. This is economic pressure to lead up to political pressure, prior to our 7th congress. We understand such actions very well because we have experienced others in the past. And now the rightist faction in Beijing is trying to pick a quarrel and then to accuse us of starting the fight.

It is quite obvious that this is something deliberately hatched up. But they are doing something much more serious in Beijing. One of the Chinese employees of the Ministry of Industry tells our trade attache in China that the nickel cobalt factory which should begin and end in one phase according to the contract, "we must do in two phases".

This is another major provocation and we shall see what consequences it will have, because we shall insist that the contract is carried out.

The refinery at Ballsh is completed, except that it needs two or three compressors, the time of the delivery of which is overdue.

"We are experimenting with them", they tell us.

"But how long will we wait? When will the experiments be completed?"

What is all this? It is clear to us. This is sabotage, pressure. The Chinese are moving towards a blockade against Albania. We should take care because they want to lay the blame on us.

[AU202245] Bad Behaviour by the Chinese Ambassador in Tirana

In the note of Monday, May 24, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

They informed me that the Chinese ambassador, Liu Chen-hua, who is to leave on the 29th of this month, is making visits here and there to the projects under construction and putting on dinners for our people, etc. He is behaving badly and not in a friendly way. The strange thing is that this unpleasant behaviour is occurring at the moment of his departure. It seems as if he wants to worsen our relations, or to foreshadow a further worsening of them. He does not speak at all about the struggle which is going on in China against Deng Xiaoping. This is no skin off our nose, but it shows that he is one of Deng's men. He wants to show that he knows everything, that he knows about work in mines, because he has "once gone down a mine in China". Whomever he meets, wherever he goes, he criticizes our work, from the military fortifications to a "bit of iron" thrown in the corner. About all these things he concocts slanders, and wants to show that our people do not work well. The Chinese ambassador speaks openly, indeed in front of Adil Carcani,



Spiro Koleka and Nesti Nase, he says that he knows everything that is going on. In other words, he admits with his own mouth that he is the resident agent of Chinese intelligence in Albania and has created an agency with the Chinese specialists.

Our comrades are replying to this revisionist, who hides under the cloak of the ambassador of China, in the way he deserves.

#### The Chinese Are Creating Difficulties for Us

In the note of Tuesday, August 24, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out the determination of the P.L.A. and the Albanian people against the pressure of the Chinese revisionists. He writes:

Maqo Bleta, deputy-minister of industry and mining, who is in China, informs us about the difficulties which the Chinese have created for us and about the extension of the time limit for the construction or completion of some plants of the metallurgical combine. As an excuse for this, they produce the big earthquake which struck Tangshan (Fenang) in July this year, which, although it seems to have been very severe, as they say, has no connection at all with these projects.

Today Comrade Behar Shtylla came to visit me at home, because tomorrow he is to return to his duties in Beijing. Naturally we talked about the situation in China and what level our relations with the Chinese have reached.

I gave Behar a summary of what we think about the political and ideological line of the Communist Party of China. Behar is clear about this. We are pursuing our line independently and openly, and although we never speak publicly about the Chinese line, the whole world sees the contradictions of the line of our party with that of the Communist Party of China. There is no doubt that the Chinese see this, too, and they are not in agreement with the Marxist-Leninist line of our party. They have become cold, and even angry with us. They are saying nothing openly, but in fact they are acting against us, exerting pressure on us. They are slowing down and, especially, postponing the completion of our projects and, likewise, not giving us the credits and not carrying out the economic agreements concretized in the contracts which we have signed. The Chinese have had the idea that we would be at their mercy. They have always wanted us to be dependent on them and to follow their anti-Marxist course. However, this has not happened, and will not happen.

Just like the Soviets, the Chinese leaders, too, have started to put pressure on us. First, they started with economic pressure, but they did not act with the Soviet methods. The Chinese did not cut off their credits to us, but postponed and reduced them. "We are poor, we haven't got the means," they tell us, and they cover these statements with hypocritical platitudes like "we are friends", "our friendship is unbreakable",

and other such palaver. All these things are occurring because their line in foreign and internal policy is not based on Marxism-Leninism, but on "Mao Zedong Thought", which does not accord with the line of our party, either in ideology, in policy or organization. "Mao Zedong Thought" is an opportunist liberal trend. And this is quite obvious in all the stands and actions of the Chinese leaders.

The Chinese (I am speaking of the leadership and not of the people, or the mass of the communists) are cunning and hypocritical. When they need you, they butter you up; when they do not need you, and you disagree with them, they leave you stranded. When we were fighting against Khrushchev, the Chinese did not defend us, but "ran with the hare and hunted with the hounds", because they leaned to the idea that Khrushchev would accept Mao as supreme chief. When they saw that Khrushchev was sticking to his guns, Mao and his comrades became ardent towards us, therefore our country and party were widely publicized among their people. This was a victory and even now it remains a great victory for us. To this day the Chinese leadership does not dare attack this victory, but is gnawing away at it from underneath, like a rat.

Unless a radical change in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist direction takes place in China, the Albanian-Chinese relations will be weakened through the fault of the Chinese leaders.

They may not come out against us openly, but will certainly continue their economic pressure. Of course, we shall take measures and with our own forces (and we have forces) we shall cope with the sabotage which the Chinese might commit against us.

[21 Nov 79]

[AU212050] [Text] Tirana, 21 Nov (ATA)--On Sunday, September 5, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha condemns the economic blackmail and pressure of the Chinese leadership against Albania, thus acting like a big revisionist state. The note is entitled:

China's Blackmail and Economic Blockade Against Albania

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The unfriendly, not to say hostile actions of China towards our country, are constantly increasing. The Chinese are openly slowing down their import and export of materials in a scandalous way, in order to damage our economy and put us in difficulties.

Up until August the Chinese have fulfilled only 22 per cent of their deliveries to us, while we have fulfilled more than 80 per cent of our exports to them.

The imports due from China are primary materials for our industry, all officially contracted, with clearing. All our goods have been delivered, thus, if I am not mistaken, we have an active balance in our favour with China. This is disgraceful on the part of the Chinese and it is clear that they are sabotaging us.

The Chinese are using vicious trading methods towards us, which no capitalist country or revisionist country practices. China signs its trade agreements with its "friend" Albania in two stages: Part of them in the first six months and the remainder in the second six months of the year. This means that the goods for which contracts are signed in the first six months come at the end of the year, and those of the second six months come in the first half of the next year. According to this practice, we deliver our goods to the Chinese within the year, while they deliver theirs to us within a year and a half or even later. Therefore, the goods from the second six months of this year have not even started to come from China.

On the other hand, for almost three months the Chinese have been exerting blackmail and arrogant pressure on the industrial delegation which has gone to Beijing on the problems of the metallurgical combine. In other words, they do not want to deliver important sections of the combine to us, therefore they are not setting any date and want to leave us with the Sword of Damocles hanging over our heads. And they try to cover up all these aims with phrases such as, "we have not mastered the technology of this and that". All these are lies, because in the working program which they sent to us previously it is noted that their delegation "will be present at the first production of steel sheet", etc.

Apart from this, the Chinese try to impose on us the protocols that we are to sign in the way they want, and insist that the question that "the earthquake which occurred in China might make deliveries difficult and the Albanian friends must understand this", etc., should be inserted. In the talks which were held by the two sides, faced with their arrogant claims that, "we have the right to speak because we are the suppliers", our side gave them the proper reply that "we are not signing the protocols except about those things on which we have reached agreement. If you want to record your views in the supplementary note, we likewise, will record our views". The Chinese, says Mago Bleta, were shaken when we told them this, and asked that "we should talk the matter over again in order to avoid having differences". Thus things have reached a deadlock.

What emerges from these evil things which the Chinese revisionists are doing to us? They are the same as the villainies the Soviet revisionists committed against us, with one difference: That the Soviets broke off relations with us in a brutal way, while the Chinese are going about it with cunning and with "reel in but don't break the line". Their tactic is: "You may break it, but not us". What are the Chinese revisionists

getting at with this tactic? They see that our party is openly following a correct Marxist-Leninist course, but the Chinese do not like this course, they want us to follow their treacherous revisionist course. We will never do this, but continue and will continue to follow our own correct course which is in contradiction to theirs. They are powerless to impose their desires and line on us, therefore they are exposing themselves with their efforts.

[AU212055] Hence, the Chinese have begun their blackmail and economic pressure with the aim of intimidating us and making us yield. But they are thinking and acting like a big revisionist state and have remained incorrigible despite our stands. As I have written earlier, they talked Beqir Balluku into doing what he did. Zhou did the same thing with Abdyl Kellezi. Without doubt the Chinese are furiously angry that we got rid of their friends, and precisely when we settled accounts with the traitors, they began to increase their economic pressure.

Now we are going to hold the 7th congress of our party. They assume that we shall unfurl our line there, a line which will be openly in opposition to that of the Chinese, without directly referring to them in any way, but the whole world will see clearly that there are contradictions over matters of principle on a series of key problems between our two parties.

The Chinese are doing all these things I mentioned above as pressure, to prevent us from speaking about our crystal-clear line at the congress. But they are hitting out blindly and will suffer for it. We are afraid of no one. We are on the right road, let them tremble.

We want, we have tried, and we shall go on trying to have friendship with China, but friendship on the Marxist-Leninist road and no other. We reject friendship under slavery, under pressure, under blackmail, whether with China or any one else. The Chinese leaders are acting like the leaders of a "great state". They think, "the Albanians fell out with the Soviet Union because they had us, and if they fall out with us, too, they will go back to the Soviets", therefore they say: "Either with us or the Soviets, it is all the same, the Albanians are done for". But to hell with them. We shall fight against all this trash, because we are Albanian Marxist-Leninists and on our correct course we shall always triumph.

We Shall Live on Our Own Resources, We Shall Live, and Live Better

Dwelling on the great chaos in China, in the note of Wednesday, October 13, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha analyses the situation after Hua Guofeng's advent to power and points out that the Chinese revisionists openly continue their hostility against Albania. In this note he writes:



In regard to us Albanians, of course, we are clear that the situation created in China does not augur well for us, but brings difficulties. We foresaw this situation long ago, as early as 1960, when the Chinese leaders allegedly defended us against the Khrushchevites. We saw that they were vacillating, and never really defended us. Headed by Zhou Enlai, they tried to get the Soviets to stop the polemic against us and close this question. However, Khrushchev, like a potentate, did not agree to yield to the Albanians. He did not accept this thesis of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong. Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong had great hopes that Khrushchev would give them the atomic bomb and assist them economically so that China would become a great power. Therefore, even when the conflict was opened, they tried to tone it down. I have written about these matters in my diary day by day, during the development of events, and these are not conclusions which I draw only now.

Therefore, this situation did not find us unprepared. For several years, and especially during the past five-year plan, Zhou Enlai was acting against us. He sabotaged us in economic matters. We saw the sabotage concretely, and struggled against it. Zhou found himself in a situation in which there was nothing he could do other than adopt the method of postponing the completion of projects, since he could not implement the method of cutting off credits. Zhou Enlai did not pursue the tactic of Khrushchev who broke all links with us at once, but he pursued the tactic of not sending the machinery on time for projects of great importance to the development of our economy which should have been completed two years, or two years and a half earlier. For this reason they are still not completed. And this is not because China is "poor" and other tales which the Chinese revisionists tell us. No, these stands were and are for political reasons, because Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong saw that Albania was standing firm on its own Marxist-Leninist positions and had and has its independent policy which it expresses openly, unafraid of anyone, a thing which did not and does not please the Chinese.

It was not pleasing to the Chinese, also, that small Albania was defending great China in the international arena. Perhaps Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai personally considered the defence of China on our part a disgrace, because in their judgement, how could a small country defend a big country? Nevertheless, what was done by us was a defence which they were unable to deny, but such a situation was not to their liking.

[AU212058] Recently it became clear that the Chinese leaders were putting open and direct pressure on us to save Beqir Balluku and Abdyl Kellezi, who collaborated with them in the plot hatched up against Albania to overthrow our leadership. But they were unable to achieve their aim, therefore they drastically reduced their economic aid and their military aid, because there was nothing else they could do against us.

Hence, in this direction we are prepared. We are prepared because our party has gone through so many storms and has been tempered. It has no fear of remaining alone. But Albania and the Party of Labour remain unshaken, and this is how they will always stand.

Will the team which has now come to power in China still carry on the hostility towards us openly? We shall see. We shall be vigilant, and our vigilance must be great. Our interests require that even while they pursue their method of postponing the full completion of these industrial projects, from our side we must avoid any flare-up with them, but must stick to our Marxist-Leninist line and not violate our principles, regardless of the fact that China may cut off its credits to us. Let them do this. We shall live on our own resources, we shall work tooth and nail, we shall live, and live better. At the same time we shall have the support of the whole progressive world, of all the genuine Marxist-Leninists, all the proletariat and revolutionaries of the world, who will see how a small country stands loyal to Marxism-Leninism, is not intimidated, but marches forward, lives and advances. This is how it will be.

Naturally, the hostile stand of China towards us will please our enemies. They will increase their activity, both abroad and within the country, against our party and state, but we have such great strength that we shall cope successfully with the external enemies, and crush the internal enemies. Therefore we must keep cool and wait, must follow the situations in the world attentively as always, and must follow the situations in China in particular. We must not open polemics so long as we can reasonably consider that our Marxist-Leninist line is not being publicly attacked, otherwise from that moment we must have our batteries aimed all the time. However, we must also consider our economic interests, irrespective of the fact that the Chinese will possibly delay the deliveries they should send us under the signed contracts which exist. Hence we must be prudent and at the same time vigilant, must carefully watch what course events will take in China.

From the information we have, it turns out that their present ambassador, who has also been in Moscow, is one of the elements criticized by the Cultural Revolution. Hence, he must be a rightist, a man of Deng Xiaoping, Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai. He has not come here to help our country, but to carry out sabotage, to intrigue, to gain information, not as a friend, but in the service of the rightists who have come to power in China. He has come with evil aims, therefore it is possible that he and the other Chinese may begin to poke their noses into our internal affairs.

#### Respect Should Be Mutual

Yesterday Comrade Nesti Nase, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha on Thursday, October 14, 1976, told me that the new Chinese ambassador had asked to

visit me at home on October 16 to congratulate me on my birthday, and on this occasion, to bring me a basket of flowers.

I think that at these turbulent moments and after such discourtesy towards our Central Committee on the part of the Chinese leadership and Mao Zedong personally, who did not reply to any message which we sent them, when even to the invitation of our Central Committee for the Communist Party of China to participate in the congress of our party they merely sent their ambassador to communicate to us, in the name of the Foreign Directory, the greetings of the Central Committee of their party, it seems to me that we ought to protect the authority of our party. We must make it plain to the Chinese that our relations with them must be correct and on the basis of complete equality.

### The Chinese Are Hampering Our Imports

On Monday, October 18, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha condemns the deceptions of the Chinese revisionists to camouflage their undermining acts against Albania. The note reads:

It is almost two weeks since Comrade Behar met the minister of foreign trade of China, Li Chiang, from whom he sought the reasons why our imports from China for 1975 show a shortfall to the tune of 40 million yuan, while our exports for the same period were completely fulfilled. Behar pointed out to him that China was creating many obstacles and difficulties for us in the fulfilment of our five-year plan, and that the trade talks for 1976 had not even begun--and in fact, during this year, no trade was going on between Albania and China. Behar stressed that this action was not fair and with this method we were in no situation to reserve our exports goods (for them).

[AU212100] Li Chiang listened to him and said, "I am not informed about this (in fact he was lying), but I will find out and summon you".

Two weeks went by, and Behar was summoned by the vice-minister of foreign trade who told him on behalf of Li Chiang:

"We have made a mistake. We are in debt to you. Therefore we shall activize our trade organs and the enterprises and will try to send you the goods by the end of the year, with the exception of some machinery such as tractors, etc. This has come about", he said, "because of our wrong line. In regard to the contracts for 1976, we shall fulfil these by November or December if we have put our own plan in order". And to sweeten this a bit, he said: "We shall conduct the negotiations with you first". This is what the Chinese deputy-minister of foreign trade told Behar. All this is rubbish and lies.

Li Chiang is one of the main enemies of the People's Republic of Albania. What the Chinese are doing against us is sabotage, an economic blockade.

This sabotage activity openly supports the plot of Beqir Balluku, Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi and Kico Ngjela. They have done this to exert pressure on us, to impoverish our market and to slow down production in order to arouse dissatisfaction among the people against our party and state. But these saboteurs and conspirators have not achieved and will not achieve their purpose. Our export goods are such that anybody will take them, therefore China cannot blockade us, just as the Soviet Union, the other revisionists and the capitalist states could not blockade us. We want to carry on trade with China and will try to do so, but on equal terms, and not in the way the Chinese revisionists are acting.

[22 Nov 79]

[AU221740] [Text] Tirana, 22 Nov (ATA)--In the note of Thursday, December 9, 1976, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes and condemns the big state chauvinist views of the Chinese revisionist leadership and stresses the resolute stand of the PLA which has never accepted relations from the positions of inferiority, relations of dictate and subjugation. The note appears under the title:

#### A Chinese Note With No Address and No Signature

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Comrade Behar Shtylla was received yesterday by Li Xiannian who handed him a "verbal note", just as a protest of a foreign ministry might be made to another government. But ministerial verbal notes at least have an address, while the "note" of the Chinese had neither address nor signature. It said in essence: "Comrade Hua Guofeng says that at the 7th congress of the PLA, the line of the Communist Party of China and the strategic ideas of Mao Zedong on some important problems, especially the international situation, were publicly attacked by allusion. He does not consider these things correct or based on Marxism-Leninism, because they damage our friendship, the unity of the movement and disclose the differences between two sister parties before enemies", etc. There is a reference to our letter of 1964 (about the Sino-Soviet borders), about which Mao Zedong said that he would not reply to us because he did not want to engage in polemics, therefore they "are not going to reply to these accusations, either", etc.

This is the first time that the Chinese revisionists have openly attacked the Party of Labour of Albania with a "document", which they can deny tomorrow. The Chinese never leave any official document. [sentence as received] The present Chinese revisionist leadership is in difficulties inside and outside the country. I have explained the internal situation many times, and pointed out that the foreign policy of China is suffering defeat.

Within the country, the Chinese leadership is accusing "the four", which it links with Lin Biao, and calls them all the culprits to blame for all the evils, describes them as agents of the Soviets, etc. Outside the



country, with this "note" it is accusing the Party of Labour of Albania of allegedly attacking the strategy of Mao, i.e., we are causing China the "defeat outside the country", hence we are "against the strategy of Mao", we "are assisting the Soviets". According to them, we are "in a block with the four and Lin Biao". All these are allusions which are intended to frighten us into following their line, because "otherwise we shall take further measures, will cut off the credits" and other camouflaged threats. Their revisionist logic leads the present Chinese leaders to think that "they are keeping us alive", that "socialist Albania lives thanks to them", that "if they abandon us we shall link up with the superpowers and then their propaganda will be confirmed", etc. All these things are identical with the actions of the revisionist Khrushchev and his followers against us.

We must reply to them and expose the provocateurs with their great-state chauvinist views, the Chinese putschists, revisionists and anti-Marxists.

Unlike their verbal note, the letter which we shall send them from the Central Committee must be made official and must say to them:

First, the PLA is an independent Marxist-Leninist party which formulates its own line itself, from the viewpoint of the Marxist-Leninist theory, on the basis of realistic analyses of the internal and external situation. The PLA does not bargain over the Marxist-Leninist principles and is guided by a strategy which it decides for itself and formulates the tactics appropriate to this strategy. The PLA does not permit anyone else to impose upon it a strategy which it considers inappropriate. On the basis of its Marxist-Leninist norms, it accepts criticism by sister Marxist-Leninist parties, and it will discuss many problems with them, and vice-versa, the PLA also has the same right towards other sister parties.

Second, the PLA has always proclaimed its line and strategy openly and has made and makes its criticism against enemies by name and never through allusions and behind their backs. Therefore the Party of Labour of Albania and its Central Committee firmly reject the accusations which Hua Guofeng and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China make against the Party of Labour of Albania and its 7th congress, allegedly that they attacked the line of the Communist Party of China, etc. On the contrary, the Party of Labour of Albania spoke warmly of its friendship with China, etc. Hence it is you who are attacking the Party of Labour of Albania and its 7th congress.

[AU221745] Third, since you are accusing us, it is the duty of the Communist Party of China to tell us on what "important problems" we have attacked the Communist Party of China and the strategy of Mao Zedong and to make clear to us this strategy of yours so that we shall be able to judge whether we or you are right, and who is attacking whom, if there is talk of attacks. We expect such a thing and do not accept your statement

that you will not reply to attacks which our party has allegedly made on you, because "you do not want to open up polemics". In fact, with what you are doing it is you who are opening up the polemic. Such a stand of Comrade Hua Guofeng and the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China is unacceptable to us and we shall consider this a fact showing that you do not agree to the confrontation of opinions and the elimination of disagreements or differences, if they exist as you are claiming.

There are two declarations in existence, signed by our two sides, continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, the one of 1964, the other of 1966, in which it is stated that we must hold consultations over strategic questions. You have violated these declarations even over cardinal problems about which you have not held consultations with our party. You have not sought our opinion at all and we have not been informed by your side, or have been faced with an accomplished fact.

In your "note" you mention our letter of 1964. We thought then and still think that this letter has great political, ideological and strategic importance, because what we raised in it seemed to be your problem, and so it is in reality, but a problem which also belonged to us and the world revolution. You did not keep us informed, as a sister party, while we expressed our opinion to you in a very comradely way. And this question remained between our two parties. No doubt, in mentioning this letter you have your own present or future aims, but we assure you that in no case and at no time will that letter serve anyone to attack the PLA. The opposite will occur.

However, this is not the only letter which we have sent the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Zedong. The others, too, have been on major issues of strategy and tactics. These have been comradely letters, frank and sincere.

We have done all these and other things on the normal road on the basis of Marxist-Leninist norms. These things had to be done because it was necessary that we clear up the problems and temper our friendship.

In no instance have we talked behind your backs but have spoken to you openly, at no time have we attacked the Communist Party of China publicly or even by allusion, as you claim, at no time have we entered into polemics, but since you have given us no other possibility, we have told you everything through internal messages in a comradely spirit.

The lackey of the Chinese will fail avoiding the direct polemic against the PLA. The Chinese revisionist leadership resorted to every means and left no stone unturned to incite various Trotskyite and revisionist elements, their agents against the PLA in order to isolate Albania and the PLA from the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement. The note of Monday, December 13, 1976, deals with this. The note reads among others:

The chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), Edward Hill, who attended the 7th congress of our party and expressed his "satisfaction" and spoke "well" at the congress, after he left our country, sent a letter for Comrade Ramiz to our ambassador in Paris, Comrade Dhimiter Lamani. The letter was handed to our ambassador by Hill's wife who said, "It contains some remarks of Hill about the 7th congress of the PLA".

As it now turns out, this "communist" did not even have enough courage to talk to one of us, but made his "remarks" by letter. However, these "remarks" of his are attacks, slanders and provocations against our party, which he has made from his own deductions or has taken from the Chinese, making himself their cat's paw.

#### The Agents of China Are Beginning To Show Up

This is the title of the note of Thursday, December 16, 1976, which reads: Basing myself on a short summary which our ambassador in Paris made of the letter of the chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), E. Hill, I have made several notes in my diary. In general, these answer the questions which are reflected in the summary of the translation which the ambassador sent us.

[AU221750] Now all the material sent by Hill has come to hand. It is accompanied with a short letter addressed to Comrade Ramiz. This material, fifteen pages long, has been written in a concise style with an allegedly theoretical colour, with quotations, etc., and in a record time, one day after Hill's departure from Tirana for London. This makes us suspect very strongly that the material must have been prepared by him or somebody else earlier, indeed some of his main "theses" even before Hill came to our congress. Hill must have found the material ready as soon as he arrived in London, and the following day he immediately sent it off with his wife to Paris to be handed to our ambassador. The main essence of Hill's views is that the Party of Labour of Albania allegedly did not have the right to put forward at the 7th congress its own views in regard to the international communist movement. He implies in the material that it was not up to the Party of Labour of Albania to do such a thing.

According to Hill, when a party intends to raise a problem of an international character, which interests the whole communist movement of the world, first of all, it should make an extensive tour, contact and hold bilateral talks with a large number of Marxist-Leninist parties, and only if they are in agreement on this or that matter, should it put forward this or that problem at its own congress, whereas if it meets with opposition it should not be put forward at all. This is one of the main points of the absurd anti-Marxist criticisms by this Australian revisionist provocateur, sent especially by the Chinese revisionists to commit provocation against the Party of Labour of Albania.

I said earlier that the Communist Party of China and the provocateur Hill did not and do not want the Party of Labour of Albania to express its views on how the international unity of communists and proletarians should be strengthened. They are opposed to this. However, the internationalist unity of the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist parties is a major question of Marxism-Leninism. Even the Communist Party of China has launched this slogan, but in fact it is opposed to it and fights it in practice. It has restricted this great motto to the unity of the "Third World", in which it has included itself. We cannot agree with any such view or with the stand which is being maintained.

The main points of our opposition to the Chinese are over issues which are closely linked with one another: Over the question of the "Third World", over the stand which should be maintained towards the two superpowers, and over "proletarian internationalism", that is, over the strengthening of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. In our opinion, the Communist Party of China looks at these matters in an opportunist, revisionist way, while we look at them in a Marxist-Leninist way. We are for proletarian internationalism, for strengthening our unity with the Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as for the greatest possible and continuous aid to all the countries of the so-called free and independent world, but which in fact is dependent on and under the influence of American, Soviet and other capital. For these countries to be able to achieve full liberation, as Lenin says, first they must fight the enemy in their own country and then the enemy outside it. We say that modern revisionism must be fought with all our might, and likewise the reactionary bourgeoisie, which places the freedom and independence of its country at the mercy of American imperialism, or Soviet social-imperialism. Therefore we believe that it is essential to fight both these superpowers, while the Chinese do not look at the problem from this standpoint. As a conclusion, we can say that it is clear that the provocateur Hill came to our 7th congress with predetermined aims. However, he was unable to achieve in the congress hall the aims which he had set himself. He had to take the aircraft, leave our country, and send us this material of revisionist content from London. From there he returned to Australia and immediately, without losing any time, took off to Beijing where, as we are informed, he received a very warm welcome. Thus, with this document he showed his true features as a renegade. In this case, our deduction that the Communist Party of China will try to incite such individuals to attack the line of the Party of Labour of Albania indirectly in order to damage the unity of the international communist movement in this way, to distort genuine Marxism-Leninism, to confuse the proletariat and to smash the Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries of the world, has been confirmed. In fact, the Chinese have begun this work long ago.

Hence, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, Hill is a provocateur, an agent of the Chinese, therefore he and his so-called Marxist-Leninist party warrant



no further mention. The question arises about this party, whether it exists or not.

[AU221755] Comrade Enver Hoxha writes further on: The Chinese revisionists will begin the struggle against our party in two directions: in the ranks of the international communist movement, and within our country. Within the country, the struggle of the Chinese will take the character of economic sabotage. This sabotage will be concretized with the slowing down of the realization of credits, officially contracted by the two parties. As we know, in recent years the Chinese have immensely slowed down the sending of equipment for the projects envisaged for the past five-year plan. Among these projects there are some which should have been completed two or three years ago, but are still waiting because they have not sent us the machinery and equipment. This is inflicting very great damage on our country from the economic angle.

Nevertheless, we have coped with the difficulties which the Chinese have created for us and have not spoken about them publicly. But we must be quite clear that they will do such things on a larger scale in the future. The Chinese revisionist leaders intend to make us write screeds of letters of protest to which, in their customary way, they will not reply. Naturally, however, we are not going to leave these major projects for the construction of which we have invested the sweat and blood of our people, in ruins. To the extent that we are able, in the lack of response from the Chinese side, we shall take measures for the fulfilment of the plan by trying to complete the projects with our own possibilities and means. Thus, their conflict with us will emerge. They will find the occasion to make the accusation that "despite all this great aid which we have given you, you did not wait until we had completed our experiments, etc., etc. and continue to complete these projects yourselves, without agreement from our side. Then we shall withdraw our specialists". This is how the withdrawal of their specialists and failure to send us other aid will occur. Naturally, from their side, this business will take the character of a political and ideological struggle. For our part, we shall strive to prevent this struggle with them from becoming publicly known.

But the activity of the Chinese revisionists against our party will also be coordinated with the struggle they will wage against us from abroad. The two directions of the struggle have the same aim:

First, to isolate the Party of Labour of Albania from the whole international communist movement so that the correct Marxist-Leninist voice of our party is not heard in this movement.

Second, to create various groupings, which style themselves "Marxist" and which consist of provocateurs, who have emerged as a result of their splitting activity in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. Like the Khrushchevites, the Chinese, too, will create such groupings in their favour, which will be financed by them as well as by the bourgeoisie

of the countries in which they are created. Through these provocateurs they will try to develop an unrestrained propaganda against Marxism-Leninism. Their propaganda will be directed especially against our party and pro the Chinese revisionist line. What happened with the Khrushchevites will happen again.

It is our duty to foresee this struggle, whether on the internal or the external platform. Our struggle will be waged on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is our theory, on the basis of the orientations which the 7th congress of the party has given.

#### A Meeting That Was Over in Five Minutes

In the note of Sunday, January 2, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Our ambassador in Beijing informed us that he had sought a meeting with Li Xiannian in reciprocity, to hand over the letter of our Central Committee in reply to their protest, according to which we had allegedly attacked the strategy of Mao. Two days later Keng Piao, instead of Li, received him.

Our ambassador said: "Do you want me to read the letter, as you proceeded, or do you want to read it yourself?"

"Give it to me", said the revisionist Keng Piao. The whole business was over in five minutes.

[23 Nov 79]

[LD232300] [Text] Tirana, 23 Nov (ATA)--In the note of Saturday, [words indistinct] Comrade Enver Hoxha condemns the base methods of the Chinese revisionist leaders and the deceptions employed by them to hide their hostile, anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary (?aims) and actions against the [words indistinct]. The note is entitled:

The Chinese Revisionists Are Attacking the Party of Labour of Albania in an Underhand Way

The Communist Party of China, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, has opened a dirty polemic behind the back of our party without first raising with it the disagreements and contradictions which [words indistinct] our party. It has prepared a standard material, summons to Beijing the representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist parties it can and is discussing it with them. This material has been prepared against the Marxist-Leninist line of our party in general and against its 7th congress in particular.

Even Khrushchev did not carry out such a revisionist, Trotskyite act against us, or as far as we know, against the Chinese, either. The renegade Khrushchev attacked us, attacked and opposed us, both openly and through letters, while the Chinese have never done such a thing.

When we have had differences with them over any important question of principle, we have either written them a letter or have made our views known to them by means of delegations. From our side, our stands have been correct as between two sister parties. When we have not been in agreement with them, we have told them this (?plainly), have defended our views and have not changed our opinion. The Chinese have not replied to our letters and, over [words indistinct] problems, each party has [word indistinct] according to its own views.

They claim that "they did not want to enter into polemics with (?us) over the things we have raised, and that is why they have not replied to us". However, they acted according to their own strategy and this is their "right", and we, too, acted according to our strategy and tactics, but, as it now appears, [words indistinct] considered our strategy and tactics to be attacks on the Communist Party of China, so we, too, have the right to consider theirs to be attacks on the Party of Labour of Albania.

It is clear that the Communist Party of China, which claims hypocritically that there must not be "mother party" and "daughter party", [word indistinct] the Party of Labour of Albania to follow its line blindly, and moreover, to impose its opinions on us. I say this because it has not agreed to talk with us about these differences which were known to our two parties. But why has this occurred?

First, we think that China felt itself to be a "great state", its Communist Party to be a "great party", and Mao Zedong to be an "infallible leader", therefore the feelings of the "great state", the "great party", and the "great leader" operated en bloc.

Second, although China is "for bilateral relations and bilateral talks", it is afraid of a confrontation of opinions with us. China "accepts" bilateral talks, but it wants [word indistinct] talks just to gain information, and then if its method works, it gives directive to others.

Third, China thinks that since it accords us some credits, we should comply with its views.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

We held the 7th congress and the Party of Labour of Albania expressed its own views just as it (?thought), while the Chinese leadership turned sour and made the tragic mistakes that it attacked our congress in a manner to be condemned, contrary to the norms which exist between Marxist-Leninist parties. As long as Mao and Zhou were alive, [words indistinct] contradictions, but (?they would) not agree to discuss them, or stood firm on their opinions and we, having no other possibilities, stood firm on ours. This was an opportunist tactic on their part. [Words indistinct] at that time, they (?did not) make this anti-Marxist mistake which the Chinese have now made, because, first, they knew that

our views were unshakeable, and second, the Party of Labour of Albania, with its correct line had defended the Communist Party of China and China itself at the most [words indistinct] moments for them, both at the Bucharest meeting and at the meeting of 81 parties in Moscow, as well as later, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

[LD232310] Why did Hua Guofeng and company make this mistake? They did it because their policy suffered defeat and created great confusion inside and outside China. We could not defend his internal activities, because we had many [word indistinct] to support him and because we are still not clear about what is going on in China. China's stand (?on) foreign policy weakened its positions. With the activities which the present [words indistinct], Mao has been attacked [word indistinct], meanwhile Deng, who had been (?rehabilitated) once and overthrown again, was staging a comeback to regain the posts he had lost.

The problem emerged recently of "the FMI", who were condemned on the basis of dirty personal allegations and not on a political and ideological basis. Now the Cultural Revolution is barely mentioned. [Words indistinct] from all these events, major doubts began to arise among the Marxist-Leninists of the [word indistinct] the Communist Party of China. Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, who knew how to manoeuvre, [word indistinct] and China was plunged into chaos. But why? Because its line has not been a correct Marxist-Leninist line. Two or more (?sides) prevailed in the party. There were factions in struggle with one another, etc.

In this situation the 7th congress [words indistinct] and more than [words indistinct] it by sending delegations or telegrams of support. [Words indistinct] considered this international solidarity a challenge and defeat for them, because many things (?were) contrary to their theses. Our principled stand brought about that the authority of the Party of Labour of Albania in the international communist movement and in the world was raised. Therefore, judging [words indistinct] to be difficult for them, the present Chinese leaders (?began) a hostile, Trotskyite attack on our party in an underhand way. They summoned representatives of Marxist-Leninist communist parties to Beijing one by one, from Hill of Australia, [name indistinct] of France down to those of Latin America. Meanwhile, through a terse note with no address and no signature, they told us that "the line and strategy of Mao Zedong was attacked at the 7th congress". Naturally, we replied to the Chinese at greater length than what they wrote to us and asked them to explain where we allegedly attacked the strategy of Mao Zedong.

In [words indistinct] referred to, the Chinese revisionists distort the truth which exists in our [words indistinct] such as in the letters which we sent them on the [words indistinct] with the Soviet Union, on their proposal about going to Moscow after the fall of Khrushchev, on Nixon's



visit to Beijing, Kosygin's meeting with Zhou Enlai, etc. Copies of the letters sent to the Chinese exist. Unfortunately for them [words indistinct]. ("The written word remains, the spoken word flies away" (Lai). These letters [words indistinct] deceptions, distortions and their aims and show why they have carried out these hostile, anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary actions. Duplicity [words indistinct] quite able to conceal their aims. Not only were the opinions and actions of our party in connection with the above [words indistinct] at that time, but life has proved that they are still correct today, and we believe that they will be correct tomorrow, too. Facts are stubborn, and they confirm our Marxist-Leninist theses. The demagoguery which the Chinese revisionists [word indistinct] the allegedly Leninist theoretical foundations on which they base these actions of theirs against socialist Albania (?are again) incapable of concealing their true features as revisionists and opportunists. Our contradictions with the Chinese revisionists are contradictions of principle.

#### The Charlatan "Advocate" of the Rotten Chinese Line

In his diary, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes also the obedient lackeys of the Chinese revisionists with regard to their struggle against the Party of Labour of Albania. The note of Monday, February 14, 1977, deals with this.

This time, another obedient soldier has joined the revisionist line of the Communist Party of China. This is Kazimierz Michal, general secretary of the Communist Party of Poland. [as received] Following Hill of Australia and Jurquet of France, another renegade from Marxism-Leninism has (?come out) to attack the Marxist-Leninist [word indistinct] of the 7th congress of the Party of Labour of Albania. He sends us his criticism in writing, in a letter, allegedly as decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland with which he has not had any contact for seven or eight months. The letter purportedly comes from Warsaw, but Michal has not had any contact with Warsaw either.

The Polish revisionist Michal has [words indistinct] of the Chinese. On the problems over which he attacks us [word indistinct] many other theses, he was and had proclaimed himself pro our theses and against the Communist Party of China. [passage indistinct]

[LD232350] The Maoists and their revisionist advocates do not want this polemic and are struggling to avoid it. The Marxist-Leninist polemic has always terrified the revisionists, both the Khrushchevites and the Maoists. In their recent letter in which they attack us, the Maoist revisionists [words indistinct]: "We shall not reply to you because we do not want to enter into polemics".

We did not engage in polemics but merely expressed our opinions openly. The Chinese and their advocates wanted us to refrain from speaking about

our opinions while the Maoists were to express their opinions [words indistinct] them silent recognition as universal truths. Very clever.

"Why did [words indistinct] openly?" the "advocate" Michal reproaches us, and pretends he [words indistinct]. However, he knows very well that we have pointed out these issues of principle on which we are opposed to them in letters to the Communist Party of China, and have tried for three years on end to send a party delegation to discuss them but Mao, personally [word indistinct] did not agree to this. Now this "advocate" of a [words indistinct] us, "we should hold a multi-party meeting to iron out these contradictions", when he knows full well that China is against such meetings and (?is also) against bilateral meetings with us, while with other parties such as those of Michal, Jurquet and Hill, which it has as its lackeys and into whose ears it pours all sorts of absurdities, China holds bilateral meetings.

In other words, Maoist China is doing everything in its power to hang on to its undeserved prestige in the international communist movement, without doing anything in the interest of this movement, or doing [words indistinct] of what it should. It wants and is struggling to impose itself as the leader of the peoples' liberation struggle and hence of the "Third World", trying to present Mao and his successors as if they have made a realistic [words indistinct] the world "in movement, in revolution", and have issued the most suitable (?propositions) that everyone, the peoples, revolutionaries, communists, Marxist-Leninist communist parties, "types of states" of the "two worlds" together with the United States of America, of the "First World", should follow China to fight Soviet social-imperialism, "the main enemy of mankind".

All these renegades have taken upon themselves to cause a new split in the revolution and the Marxist-Leninist movement, which has revived and is growing stronger. The Michals, Jurquets and Hills and company are the Giereks, Zhivkovs, Gomulkas, Sharkeys, Marchais of a new variant of revisionism on whom the heavy artillery must be turned to expose, defeat, and liquidate them.

With those who are unclear, the Party of Labour of Albania must show great patience in explaining things to them, and will do so, because we must not underestimate the myth and the cult of Mao in the world as "great Marxist-Leninist". On the other hand, such advocates as Michal are not included among those who are unclear, but are clear and dangerous renegades, hence the fire must be concentrated against them, to destroy them like rats.

The Chinese People (?Still) Love the Albanian People and the Party of Labour of Albania

In the note of Friday, [words indistinct] Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

From the report which Comrade Behar sent us in connection with a tour which he made of the provinces of China it turns out that in general, the officials received him correctly but with coolness. On this tour Behar was accompanied by Liu Chen-hua, who was the ambassador before last in our country. Not a good element, who especially in the end showed what was hidden behind that stupid smile of his.

Many persons whom Behar had met in Beijing [words indistinct] and moved away, because they did not want those who were watching to see them stand near him. Apparently an order has been issued from above that such an attitude should be maintained. However, there were some of the leaders of the regions which they visited who took no notice of this order and expressed their love and sympathy for our country and our party to Behar.

Where Behar had contacts with the [word indistinct] the situation (?was) different. It seems that the order had not reached there, although that former warmth, love and sincerity was no longer there. It was felt that something had changed, and that this change [words indistinct] by the propaganda of the Chinese leadership against our party and country. However, this propaganda had not succeeded [passage indistinct] formal, because in reality the r/w/k-and-file, the people, preserved their love and friendship for the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania.

#### Chinese Sabotage of the Economy of Our Country Continues

We have received a radiogram from our trade attache in Beijing, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha in the note of Saturday, June 11, 1977, informing us that the people of the Ministry (?of Industry) in China say that a series of essential items for the steel industry and [word indistinct] are not ready, have not been tested, and content themselves with saying, "We shall see", "We shall make them", etc. In other words, the Chinese are sabotaging us and postponing the dispatch of this machinery. Naturally, our trade attache protested officially and (?declared) that we shall insist that these things must be looked into.

[24 Nov 79]

[AU241818] [Text] Tirana, 24 Nov (ATA)—The hostile acts of the Chinese revisionists towards the PLA and our country reached such a level so that efforts began to be made by them with the aim of recruiting agents. In the note of Saturday, June 18, 1977, entitled:

#### The Chinese Are Engaged in Espionage and Sabotage Activity

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Our ambassador in China reports that the Chinese have begun to put pressure on our students with the aim of making them their agents. This occurred with one of our students at the

University of Beijing to whom one of the teaching staff made such a proposition. Our student replied to him immediately with great indignation and went quickly to the embassy to report this occurrence. This is villainous hostile work.

Such is the "close", "immortal" friendship and other piffle which the Chinese say in connection with us. Since they have sunk to this level in their activity against our country, they are not only hypocrites but also enemies. But they are doing something else, too. In the course of conversation they go so far as to try to learn from our students where their parents work, how many people each has at home, what work they do. Apparently, they are building up a file on every Albanian who goes to China for study or work. But why? Of course, in order to continue their hostile work of sabotage against our country in the future, too.

The Chinese are doing this here, too, in our country. The XINHUA correspondent is the head of their agency. We have formed the conviction that the employees of the embassy, right down to the interpreters, are not career diplomats or party cadres, but agents of the Chinese intelligence service. They, of course, maintain contacts with their specialists who work in the factories and the projects which we are building, and undoubtedly these engineers also do the work of the informer for the Chinese Embassy at the same time.

In regard to the question of the construction of factories and plants, which we are building with Chinese aid, they are raising major obstacles, especially at the metallurgical combine and the plant at Ballsh. The plant at Ballsh should have been completed years ago, but it is still not in operation because of a few extremely small parts, some pumps, which sometimes they send and then take away, send them again, assemble them and dismantle them, saying, "We are not sure. We must be sure before we install them. We are testing them", etc. Meanwhile in the construction of the metallurgical combine they are raising all sorts of obstacles. The Ministry of Mining of China presented a whole list to our delegate, saying that the equipment for this project cannot be delivered at such and such a time, it still has not been tested, that it is now being tested but the test has not given the results, that it needs further testing, etc., etc. Thus, these new revisionists want to sabotage the two main projects. The same thing is occurring at Fierza, too.

We are patient, but we are clear that the plants and factories which have been supplied to us by China will be brought into operation with great delays, if the construction does not stop half-way. It will be a great scandal for them if they leave these projects incomplete. Nevertheless, they will pay for this damage which they are causing to the economy of our country with their treacherous line and their sabotage. In the final reckoning they will pay the price.



In China, the officials: directors, deputy-ministers, and chiefs of sectors remain as cold as ice to our people. This means that the Hua Guofeng leadership has informed the whole Chinese apparatus about the stand which must be maintained towards the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Republic of Albania. Meanwhile among the people there are those who are for us, who love us wholeheartedly and speak in our favour, while there are others who are afraid but do not speak against us.

#### [AU241819] Fair Protocols and Demands by Our Working Class

On Wednesday, June 22, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The 8th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania is being held in Korca. In his report, Comrade Rita Marko mentioned our friendship with the Chinese people in only one phrase, without mentioning their economic aid at all.

Meanwhile not only are the delegates not talking about aid from the Chinese because they are fed up to the neck with their delays and sabotage, but they are using indirect forms to express their dissatisfaction. Thus, the delegate of the working people of the metallurgical combine at Elbasan and the delegate from the oil processing plant at Ballsh, in their contributions, after speaking about the successes achieved, without mentioning China, its aid, or the Chinese specialists, threw in some gibes, criticizing the Ministry of Trade, the organs engaged in foreign trade, export and import, as well as the Ministry of Industry and Mining as the investor, for failure to bring in the necessary equipment and machinery at the time laid down. They pointed out that the failure to deliver this equipment and machinery is causing delays in completing these two important industrial projects of our country according to plan and, as a result, the economic interests of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian working class are being seriously damaged. Therefore, they demanded that the government take the necessary measures and once again instruct the competent organs to speed up the delivery of this equipment and machinery envisaged for delivery from abroad long ago under the state contracts. Everyone understood that these criticisms were aimed at the Chinese leadership. This means: "Knock on the lintel so the door will hear".

#### China's General Line Is To Boycott Albania

In the note dated: Durres, Sunday, June 26, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes about the efforts of the Chinese to boycott Albania. He stresses:

In regard to our economic relations, over supply of the machinery and equipment for the projects we are building, the Chinese are pursuing the tactic we know, "reel in but don't break the line", delay, postpone, give all the "reasons" you could wish and do not achieve the target-dates set in the signed contracts. In the first six months of this year our trade with China has been running at 30 per cent of the normal rate, and of this 30 per cent only 70 per cent is covered by contracted goods. In regard

to the delays they find plenty of reasons, 90 per cent of which are without foundation, and only 10 per cent of them may have a basis.

Hence China's general line is to boycott Albania, to boycott it within China and also outside China, as well as to boycott it economically. That same revisionist policy pursued by the Soviet revisionists is being pursued against us and indeed even more savagely.

The Chinese security service now shadows the employees of our embassy relentlessly. If ever a Chinese in China meets some Albanian in the street or at work, the Chinese is always summoned and asked: "What did you talk about with the Albanian, what did the Albanian say?" The people of the security service have been set against our people and we even have facts that they are trying to recruit agents among them.

#### Albania Will Firmly Stand on the Marxist-Leninist Road

In the note dated: Durres, Thursday, August 11, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes the various manoeuvres employed by the Chinese revisionist leaders in their actions against the PLA and the Albanian people. He writes:

Now China has mobilized all its hangers-on, the pseudo-Marxist parties which it finances, which are concocting muddled articles to defend the Chinese theses which cannot be defended. The Chinese have sunk so low as to wind up a lackey in support of their anti-Marxist stands, using a certain Hill from Australia, a person with two faces (or better to say, with many faces, because we don't know whom else he serves...) who posed as a friend of our party.

The capitalist world, which regards socialist Albania as a thorn in its flesh, because it is resisting all enemies, including the new enemy-- Chinese revisionism, has begun to propagate that the economic relations of Albania with China (let alone political and ideological relations) are virtually broken off and hanging by a thread, that Albania is an isolated country, and according to them, cannot exist without support from someone, although the Chinese themselves have said nothing.

At present all of them are taking up this problem. They are lamenting for Albania. They are "pitying the rider because his legs hang down". Those far away give "advice", those close at hand make various attempts to exert pressure.

[AU241820] The Yugoslavs are well aware of our stand, therefore they do not approach us to make unacceptable proposals and exert blackmail, but they say that the relations between our two countries must be strengthened.

Realistic circles in Greece want to develop friendship, to develop commercial and cultural relations with us. In fact, we are developing these relations, not because the Chinese are not helping us as before, but because our common interests require this.

With Italy, too, we carry on trade exchanges, but we do not forget that there are individuals and circles in Italy that nurture old illusions in new circumstances.

In Italy, as well as in a number of other Western countries, there are journalists, who in the presence of employees of our embassy, praise the valour of Albania, its courage, etc., etc., but there are also such people of the parties of reaction who say that now Albania must not remain isolated, that it must make approaches to the West. A number of journalists, some with good aims and some with bad, ask to come to Albania in order to study the very interesting situation and write about it.

Further on Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: The Chinese wanted and still want to compromise Albania by any means, want Albania to take a wrong step which then turns into a wrong line. But socialist Albania, guided by its Party of Labour, is not taking any wrong step. It will remain firmly on the Marxist-Leninist road.

#### A Document Which Demonstrates Our Unwavering Stand

Under this title appears the note dated: Durrës, Monday, August 15, 1977. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Today, AFP gave a first flash, the first spark about my conversation with Zhou Enlai, held in March 1965 and published yesterday in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT. It was a page and a half, but it covered the main questions. The above agency stressed that the Party of Labour of Albania remains resolutely in defence of Marxism-Leninism. That it and the Albanian state are, and will be, in friendship with China and its party on the Marxist-Leninist road.

Now, whether or not the bourgeois press will publicize this conversation which I had with Zhou Enlai is its affair. This we shall see, but our interest is that this talk should be publicized because in this way world opinion will know about the independent political and ideological stand of the Party of Labour of Albania and, at the same time, will understand who has shifted from sound positions--we or the Chinese. The conversation which I had with Zhou Enlai brings this out clearly, bearing in mind the current situation. It is said there that our parties were agreed that they should build a common fighting strategy.

However, it is very important to us that the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties should be acquainted with this talk, because they will see the continuity of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party even more clearly.

On the other hand, the false Marxist-Leninist parties and all the Maoist, Trotskyite, and anarchist groupings, which have now sprung up like mushrooms on the different continents of the world, will be split and routed while many misled people in these parties and groupings will unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties of their own countries. This has great importance for our party and for the proletarian state of socialist Albania.

The talk with Zhou Enlai clears up the ideas of genuine revolutionaries just as our 7th congress and the article in ZERI I POPULLIT on the 7th of July did and as all those things which our party has said previously have done, because, from the time it was founded to this day, our party has had and will have in the future the same correct, unwavering, Marxist-Leninist view on the international problems and the internal problems of our country.

The Slanders of the Bourgeoisie Against Us Are Published for the Cadres in China

Exposing the diabolic tactics employed by the Chinese revisionists, which are using and propagating also the slanders of the bourgeoisie against Albania, on Thursday, September 15, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes: Every day our embassy sends us from Beijing the summary of the XINHUA materials which are prepared for the Chinese cadres. These materials are full of articles slandering our country, which have been taken from the bourgeois press of imperialist America and other imperialist countries. Every slander concocted by these newspapers is published by the Chinese propaganda office in order to discredit the socialist state in Albania and the Party of Labour of Albania. This office is run by the director of the Foreign Directory of the Central Committee for relations with the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world.

[AU241821] Apart from the slanders made by these newspapers, alleging that Albania is writing this and that openly against China, and these are duplicated in the news bulletins prepared for the Chinese cadres, it is also alleged that in our country hundreds of pro-Chinese are being arrested, are being tortured, etc. They write as if the Albanian students in China have been recalled to Albania and will not return to China. They are also spreading the slander that the Albanians are behaving badly with the Chinese specialists and are expelling them from Albania.

All these and many other slanders of the Western reactionary press are reprinted by the Chinese and distributed to their cadres. The aim of Geng Biao and the Chinese leadership is easily understood. These things are being done not only to discredit the policy of our Marxist-Leninist party and the friendly policy of our state towards the People's Republic of China, but with these things the Chinese want to cover up the arrests



and crimes which they themselves are committing, want to conceal their capitalist line which they are developing in all directions and which they are trying to disguise with the articles of RENMIN RIBAO and other newspapers, written by pseudo-Marxists who have been recruited and paid by the Chinese in the four corners of the earth. Hence, it seems that in their official press, the Chinese publish everything which praises China, Hua Guofeng, the 11th congress, the theory of "three worlds", Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, etc., etc., while to the cadres they serve up the slanders of bourgeois newspapers against our party and our country.

Even the most reactionary press has not pursued such a policy and carried out such activity. The bourgeoisie itself has not used and does not use such a diabolical tactic. No bourgeois capitalist state, which is in contradiction and hostility with another state, uses such slanders and methods. The Chinese publish the slanders of the bourgeoisie about us for their cadres, and do not make any effort to publish our real views, the real views of those Marxist-Leninist parties which express themselves on the major political problems, in these internal newspapers. The Chinese are unable to do this, because if they lay our views before their cadres then an intolerable situation would be created for the traitors who have come to power in the Chinese state and the Communist Party of China.

In the past, at the time when Mao Zedong and Khrushchev were alive, the Chinese defended the tactic of publishing all Khrushchev's speeches in their newspapers, not only those speeches in which he praised imperialist relations, not only the speeches in which he discredited Stalin, but also those in which he attacked China. We said to them: Why are you publishing them? Mao, with his "great" philosophy, replied: "We are publishing them so that the Chinese learn from the mistakes of the Soviets". The Khrushchevs of China, Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping without excluding Zhou Enlai, benefited from all this, from this "outstanding" philosophy of Mao. They went on publishing these things, and when Mao saw that the result was extremely dangerous for him, he stopped their publication.

The stand of the Chinese towards the new Marxist-Leninist parties is another issue. The Chinese had not a shred of belief in the organization of these parties. Therefore they not only underrated them, but their principle was: "We Chinese will maintain contacts with all the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups that may be created, without distinction as to which is right and which is wrong, and we shall see how things develop later". A certain time went by in this way. When the Chinese changed their strategy and tactics and made major mistakes of principle, when they set out on an anti-Marxist road, they adopted another stand towards the new parties. Those parties which praised the Communist Party of China were its friends while the others were its enemies, and, according to the Chinese, these enemies were headed by the Party of Labour of Albania. Such are these renegades, these revisionists, these enemies of communism, who are leading China today. But this tactic and these actions of theirs will not last for long because

whatever they do the truth will out. The work and thought of the Party of Labour of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties will get about and reach the ears of the Chinese people, of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, who even today are differentiating between the correct line of our party and the anti-Marxist revisionist line of the Chinese leadership, because the writings of our party are spreading everywhere.

[25 Nov 79]

[AU251640] [Text] Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--On Saturday, November 12, 1977, evaluating the situation in the relations with China, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out the need of informing the party about the hostile and anti-Marxist activity of the Chinese revisionist leadership against the PLA and socialist Albania. The note appears under the title:

#### We Must Inform the Party About the Deviation of China

Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Yesterday and today I put the finishing touches to the report I shall deliver at the 3rd plenum of the Central Committee about the deviation of the Communist Party of China from Marxism-Leninism.

I think that it is very urgent and necessary to inform the party about the hostile, anti-Marxist work the Communist Party of China is carrying on. Naturally, I have made efforts to ensure that the report I shall deliver at the plenum is as understandable, as clear, and as well-argued as possible. Many theoretical and practical questions of the Communist Party of China and its leadership, from before Mao Zedong down to this day, need to be gone into thoroughly, because there are many revisionist manifestations in the activity of that party and its leadership. There are ways of saying things on the part of the Chinese, formulations sometimes disguised and sometimes shrouded in a "philosophical" fog, which we must interpret correctly, from the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and the situation in China. Many communists do not know the general history of the social, economic, political and military development of China, not only during the period before liberation, but also during the period after the foundation of the People's Republic of China, do not know many of the aspects of the activity of the Communist Party of China. And we ourselves, the party and its leadership, up till now, have spoken publicly in admiring terms about the new China, its Communist Party, and Mao Zedong. As we say in the report, as we have also said at other meetings of the Central Committee, as well as in our contributions to the discussions in the Political Bureau, to the extent that we were informed about the situation in China, and as far as we knew, we thought that the interests of the revolution required and wanted such support for China and Mao Zedong on our part. Irrespective of the criticisms which we had of them over many ideological problems, in general, we thought that the Communist Party of China was to some degree fighting

against Khrushchevite revisionism and such a thing was a plus for the cause of the revolution.

Therefore, it is our duty to ensure that the party becomes clear about this issue, and that unity of opinion exists in this direction, too. We must try to strengthen the unity of opinion, not with propaganda slogans, but, as we have always done up till now, with proven facts analysed from the angle of Marxism-Leninism. Only in this way will we temper the communists and our people in these new battles, and disarm any wavering element who will not fail to emerge at this turning-point, or at some moment which he thinks favourable to him.

The party must be raised even further ideologically and politically, must understand the problems thoroughly, must thoroughly understand the twists of different revisionist groupings in the international arena. Just as it understood Titoism and Khrushchevite revisionism, it must understand Maoism, too, and must be armed for even sterner battles which we shall face from now on.

Now, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, our party has begun to wage a relentless struggle against the Chinese revisionists, too, not to mention here the colossal struggle which it has waged and is waging in these difficult situations for the construction of socialism in all sectors, for the education of the new man with new features, equipped with lofty proletarian morality, and for his ideopolitical uplift, for the struggle against difficulties, against religion, the emancipation of women, the electrification of the country, etc., etc. All this is a colossal experience which makes our party strong as steel to cope with any difficulty of whatever nature and wherever it may come from. Therefore, we must go on and on strengthening this situation.

#### [AU251645] Trash Which the Revisionists Fabricate

Under this title appears the note of Tuesday, November 22, 1977. Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Last evening XINHUA gave long excerpts from a major hostile, revisionist article written by Kazimierz Michal, who claims to be general secretary of the Communist Party of Poland.

The article referred to contains nothing but a presentation in journalistic form of all those anti-Marxist traitor views of a renegade, an agent of imperialism and of Chinese revisionism, which he dealt with in his hostile, anti-Marxist letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania.

In the letter which he sent us, he says he is ready to make an alliance even with the devil himself provided only that he is against Soviet revisionism. Amongst other things he supports the thesis that a country,

a people, or a party cannot have two main enemies, but only one, and the main enemy is the Soviet Union, and not the United States of America, as well. Therefore he, and allegedly his party, are ready to collaborate with the whole of reaction, even with the reaction of his own country, and world reaction, against Soviet imperialism. This is the thesis of the Chinese, the thesis of the "Third World", the thesis of "relying on one imperialism to fight another imperialism".

But time will prove that the Chinese revisionists will make approaches to and link themselves in honeyed friendship even with the Soviet revisionists. The correct line of our party will be confirmed more and more each day, and we are aware that such trash has emerged and will emerge in the international arena and the ranks of the communist movement, for the reason that the revisionist enemies are working to split our movement and to throw mud at the glorious Marxist-Leninist theory. But the Marxist-Leninist theory will triumph, our cause is just and will be embraced by the world proletariat, of course, through explanations, efforts and struggle, but we shall achieve the exposure of this new trend of revisionism, which is represented by the Chinese revisionists.

#### **The Chinese Are Extending the Ideological Differences to State Relations**

Our ambassador in Beijing, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha on Friday, December 2, 1977, informed us that the Chinese told the comrades of our trade delegation that they were not going to send to Albania their specialists on the problem of phosphorites, on PVC and another problem, I am not sure which, for the reason that "the appropriate conditions do not exist, therefore as long as good conditions and understanding have not been created, we are not going to send our specialists for these objects". In other words, the Chinese revisionists are beginning their open sabotage of contracts and agreements which exist between us and them. Thus, they are beginning to extend the ideological differences they have with us to the field of state relations, hence to come gradually to the old position of the Soviets, which, of course, is a thing we had foreseen. Today, I think, the Chinese aircraft comes, and we shall have a report in writing from our embassy, a report which we shall study, and then we shall act accordingly.

First, I think, we should point out to the Chinese that such an act is a violation of contractual obligations, hence it is wrong and should be abandoned immediately. We shall watch their further actions, which we shall follow carefully and vigilantly.

#### **[AU251650] We Do Not Move From Our Marxist-Leninist Stands**

On Thursday, December 8, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha once more stresses the correct and principled stand of the PLA in the struggle against the enemies of the peoples, the imperialists, social-imperialists and revisionists of every description.



Towards us, writes Comrade Enver Hoxha, China has taken a hostile position, which it is gradually extending to the field of state and economic relations. As is known, China has accorded us some credits to build a number of factories as well as a hydro-power plant. Now it is creating obstacles for us in the delivery of machinery and the respective equipment on the due dates. Apart from this, the Chinese specialists have begun to have great pretensions. They receive double my monthly pay and still want more. They are not all bad people, but their embassy urges them to stop work frequently, to take no interest in the job, and when some ideological article comes out in our newspaper, they adopt a despicable stand. This is what happened with one of the Chinese specialists who pencilled some rude remarks on the newspaper which published Comrade Mehmet's speech in Vlora and deliberately left it in his room. When asked about this, he replied: "I wrote these things myself because that is what I think". These are provocations.

In regard to trade, in this field, too, as I have written in my diary, the Chinese are creating great difficulties for us. We are fighting against their openly unjust stands and they must be sure that we will not budge from our principled Marxist-Leninist stands which constitute the great strength of the party and the Albanian socialist state. The whole world sees our principled Marxist-Leninist stands. It sees that we are the only independent country, that we state our opinion openly and criticize and expose all the enemies of the peoples--the imperialists, social-imperialists, revisionists of every kind, and all those who oppress, enslave and colonize the peoples, who fight against the revolution and the efforts of the peoples for liberation.

People throughout the world, the various chancelleries, are astonished about where we find this strength. Of course, they cannot understand this, but we find this strength in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party, in the steel unity within its ranks, and the unity of the party with the people, we find it in our working class, find it in the resolute implementation of the principle of self-reliance. Finally, we find it also in the internationalist support of all the Marxist-Leninists and progressive people in the world who love our people's socialist republic and have respect for the courageous and correct policy of the Party of Labour of Albania. This is a further support for our country.

The Chinese Want To Reduce Their Trade With Our Country to the Minimum

On Saturday, December 10, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

Instead of sending a trade delegation to Albania from Beijing, the Chinese appointed their commercial attache here and two or three other functionaries of their embassy in Tirana as members of their delegation. They have still not appointed the head of the delegation, but will do so later from Beijing--no doubt, some low-level functionary. In other words,

the Chinese, intending to damage us economically, do not want to carry on trade with us, or more precisely, want to reduce their trade with us to the minimum level.

By appointing officials of their embassy in Tirana, the Chinese are not only trying to tell us that they do not want to carry on trade, but also have the aim of endlessly dragging out the negotiations between our two countries over the contracts for goods, because their delegation will have its premises in the Chinese Embassy in Tirana and it will not be at all difficult for them to engage in endless discussions, to create discussions, to get up and leave the meeting, go to the embassy, return again to the talks, to refuse to give any opinion or take any decision without consulting Beijing. Hence, the Chinese tactic is to prolong the talks and do almost nothing in regard to Albanian-Chinese trade.

[AU251655] It would be different if a complete delegation of whatever level came from Beijing, because the time its members could stay in our country for talks would be limited, they could not greatly extend their stay in our country, and their staying in or departure from Tirana would have to be concretized, either with a proper result, or without any result at all. However, their departure without any result would be a loss for them, therefore they are avoiding this. And if we were to go to Beijing, again a similar thing could occur. If they did not agree we would get up and go, and this would mean that they do not desire to trade with us. World opinion would understand that it is not we who do not want to trade with China.

Everyone understands what the Chinese revisionists are up to. Nevertheless, we must confront this Chinese delegation with a delegation of the same level, which must calmly discuss commercial exchanges with them, while not getting involved in and not allowing them to introduce their ideology and policy into these negotiations. We must try to sell as much as we can, and ensure that they sell us as much as possible, naturally within the limits that they are disposed to set, because we can do no more than this. The stand which they adopt will not make us give way to them. No, we shall find the way out, maintaining our dignity as always, while defending our Marxist-Leninist principles and it will be they who make the first openly hostile moves against us in economic and commercial relations, too.

We Must Not Lose Hope in the Proletariat and People of China

On Saturday, December 24, 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha writes:

The present reactionary Chinese policy is greatly disturbing the peoples, therefore, the aims of this policy must be made clear to them. The peoples understand the danger which the present Chinese policy brings and also understand the correct aims and the revolutionary road of the Party of Labour of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

It is precisely by acquainting themselves with our correct stands that the peoples, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, as well as many states with differing political opinions but which do not want to be subjected to American imperialism or any other enslaving imperialism support the policy of our party and state.

TANJUG, the Yugoslav news agency, forecasts stability in China from now on. This means, according to this agency, that the clique of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, which is in power, will find stability during 1978, will establish discipline at work and in the country. In brief, it envisages that a strong military dictatorship will be established there, that the democracy of the working masses will be suppressed, and economic decentralization will be applied.

This is what occurred in the Soviet Union, too, when the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, which scored the great victory of the revolution and the construction of socialism, was destroyed from within. Despite the correct stands of Stalin and the political and ideological work of the Bolshevik Party, still the camouflaged revisionists seized power in a moment and, within a relatively short period, turned the Soviet Union from a socialist country into a capitalist country and have now created a new stratum of the capitalist bourgeoisie which bases itself on the military forces and the state security service.

In regard to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it maintains the "traditions", maintains its reputation (long live the reputation) of the Bolshevik Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin, but in reality nothing of this party now remains, it no longer leads the Soviet Union. The army, the security force, the apparatchiki of a revisionist party lead there. In the Soviet Union there is opposition to the capitalist regime which is established. This opposition appears to come from the right, but undoubtedly there is opposition also from the left, but it is not apparent because the revolutionaries are and operate in deep illegality (while the international bourgeoisie has set up a deafening clamour about the counter-revolutionary Soviet "dissidents").

The same thing will occur in China, too. For the time being, opposition to the rulers is very difficult to display and only in certain sporadic events, because true revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization has never existed there at any time. Therefore the revolutionary spirit must be built up in China, a new, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit. The creation of such a revolutionary spirit in the cadre and the masses of the proletariat will certainly require a long time, while the military dictatorship of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, as the "warlords" of the new Chinese Maoist bourgeoisie, as one might call them, will be constantly on the attack during this period and will turn China back to a completely capitalist course.

This does not mean to say that the revolutionary elements in China will not move. They will operate in new forms, in illegality, of course, but possibly not under such rigorous illegality as in the Soviet Union. Perhaps they will act more rapidly in China to get rid of the cliques which have seized power and are suppressing the revolution. We must not lose hope in the Chinese proletariat and people.

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